

JPRS 77971

30 April 1981

USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1981



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USSR REPORT

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No. 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 1981

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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* Not translated by JPRS.

PUBLICATION DATA

English title : SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES, No 1, 1981

Russian title : SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : A. G. Kharchev

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo Nauka

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : March 1981

Signed to press : 20 January 1981

Copies : 8,434

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SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH: RESULTS, PROBLEMS, TASKS

Moscow SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 3-15

[Editorial reprinted from Moscow KOMMUNIST No 13, Sep 80 pp 79-92*]

[Text] The increased significance of the conscious principle in a developed socialist society is manifested in the enhanced role of the communist party as the guiding and leading force in the building of communism, and the increased influence of the social sciences, which have the purpose of providing theoretical solutions to the problems being resolved by the party, the state and the people. The CPSU highly rates the activities of the Soviet social scientists, including sociologists, who are actively participating in the creative scientific development of social problems. This evaluation entails high responsibilities.

Historical credit for the creation of a scientific sociology goes to K. Marx and F. Engels. They were the first to provide a materialistic interpretation of the history of society and to discover the laws governing its development. V. I. Lenin wrote that, in itself, the idea of materialism in sociology was brilliant: arising as a hypothesis, "for the first time it raised sociology to a scientific level" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 1, p 137). Following the October Revolution, the great perpetuator of the cause of the founders of scientific communism directed the development of sociology in our country toward the establishment of close links between theory and the practical struggle waged by the party and the people for the socialist reorganization of society and for conducting specific studies of factual processes occurring in social life. In May 1918, while drafting the Sovnarkom decree "On a Socialist Social Sciences Academy," Lenin wrote: "One of the primary tasks includes the organization of a number of social studies..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 372). Lenin's instructions have remained fully pertinent to this day.

The contemporary creatively saturated stage in the development of Soviet sociology began in the mid-1960s. The scientific level of social management is enhanced under mature socialist conditions. This requires energetic research and opportune penetration into the essence of deep socioeconomic processes. As both theoretical and applied science, sociology can make a substantial contribution in this area.

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The question of upgrading the role of sociological studies with a view to resolving the economic, political and ideological problems of the building of communism was raised at the 23d CPSU Congress. The CC CPSU Accountability Report to the 24th party congress drew attention to the need for a comprehensive study of the social structure of Soviet society and the formulation of plans for the social development of labor collectives. The 25th CPSU Congress called for a systematic study of public opinion and of changes in the nature and content of the work and way of life of the Soviet people; it called for the further development of comprehensive socioeconomic planning and for upgrading the practical results achieved by the social sciences.

The CC CPSU decree "On Measures for the Further Development of the Social Sciences and for Upgrading Their Role in the Building of Communism" (August 1967) was of particular importance to the development of sociology. Among other things, it provided an analysis of the condition of sociology in the country and defined its prospects. Soviet sociological science was given the assignment of developing "historical materialism as a general sociopolitical theory and undertaking specific social studies." Referring to the latter, the document noted that until recently "specific sociological studies had not been developed sufficiently extensively" and that "their scientific-methodical foundation remains very empirical."

It was at precisely that time that the current system of scientific sociological institutions was organized. The Institute of Specific Social Studies (since 1972 Institute of Sociological Studies) of the USSR Academy of Sciences, established in 1968, became the main coordinating sociological center in the country. Additionally, the USSR Academy of Sciences and the republic academies include 68 scientific departments, sectors and laboratories of a similar nature. Major sociology departments exist in academic institutions such as the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems in Leningrad, the Institute of Economics and Organization of Industrial Production in Novosibirsk, and the Institute of Economics of the Ural Scientific Center in Sverdlovsk. Sociological units staffed by trained specialists were organized by the institutes of the republic academies of sciences in Kiev, Minsk, Vilnius, Tallinn, Tbilisi and a number of other capitals of union republics. Sociological studies are conducted by a number of scientific research departmental institutes, sociology laboratories at enterprises and production associations, and voluntary institutes and councils on sociological studies organized by party, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations. The network of sociological laboratories in the country's higher educational institutions has been expanded considerably. A number of universities and economic higher educational institutions offer special courses in applied sociology for the future philosophers, journalists, jurists and economists.

The CC CPSU Academy of Social Sciences is engaged in extensive broad sociological studies of problems related to the topical tasks of party construction, ideological work and communist education. Each of these studies is concluded with a summarizing report and specific suggestions and recommendations addressed to the party organs.

Problems such as improving the practice of the socialist competition, social planning in production collectives and cultural construction are being studied by sociologists of the USSR Academy of the National Economy and the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement. In turn, sociologists at the Higher Komsomol School of the Komsomol Central Committee are engaged in systematic studies of a number of problems related to shaping the communist awareness of the youth and its labor and social activeness in relation to strategic tasks in the building of communism.

Today there is no sphere of any importance in the country left out of the area of theoretical and empirical sociological studies. Sociologists and a broad range of party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers, economic managers, engineers and scientists in different fields are involved in such studies. The Soviet Sociology Association has over 800 collective and some 5,000 individual members.

The development of sociological studies is clearly expressed in scientific publications. The number of articles on various aspects of Marxist-Leninist sociology has risen considerably. The journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, published since 1974, has become a major lever in consolidating the efforts of Soviet sociologists and the dissemination of new scientific results and methodical experience. Positive results have been achieved in the past 15 years in upgrading the methodological level of specific sociological studies. Here again scientific discussions on the subject of sociology, in the course of which one-sided ideas which had been misdirecting research practices were surmounted, played a specific role.

Today we can say we have essentially overcome previous attempts in scientific literature to reduce sociology merely to an empirical science of society, with tasks limited to "securing" factual data for other social sciences (some authors even considered it a "universal experimental" science). In reality, Marxist sociology is above all a theoretical science which equips us with knowledge of the general laws governing the functioning and historical development of human society. For quite some time this science has been identified as historical materialism which is also an inseparable component of Marxist philosophy, of its social philosophy. In other words, it is a philosophical-sociological theory.

On the other hand, the concept of sociology as merely a theory of historical materialism proved to be incomplete. The knowledge of sociology is not limited to a general sociological theory. It necessarily includes so-called individual sociological disciplines which study certain aspects of social life (labor, culture, family and so on) as well as specific sociological studies. Under our conditions these are studies of the various aspects of life in a socialist society included in the methodological channels of historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism. The fear of "plunging" into life, with its frequently complex and grave problems, a fear which is still apparent, has nothing in common with the traditions of Marxist-Leninist sociology stemming from classical works such as Marx' "Das Kapital," crowded with factual data, Engels' "The Situation of the Working Class in England," and Lenin's "Development of Capitalism in Russia."

Major specific studies undertaken on the basis of thoroughly elaborated programs and with the participation of skilled scientists confirm the substantial progress which has taken place in the status of Soviet sociology in recent years. This includes comprehensive studies of the cultural and technical upsurge of the working class in the Urals; work, way of life and public opinion in Taganrog; rural migration factors in Siberia; workers' attitudes toward labor in Leningrad; correlation between social and national factors in Tatariya; role of the higher school in changing societal social structure (in six parts of the country), and many others. Toward the end of the 1970s a second study of the influence of scientific and technical progress on the social development of the working class was conducted in Gor'kiy and Gor'kovskaya Oblast. The study showed the positive changes which had taken place in the 15-year period since the first study undertaken in the mid-1960s. The results of the studies, summed up in May 1980 at a practical science conference held in Gor'kiy, triggered great interest among the party and scientific public.

Unfortunately, we must admit that the overall methodological and methodical standard of sociological research conducted in our country is still far behind contemporary requirements. Applied studies made locally by small groups of sociologists are occasionally conducted without adequately prepared programs. They suffer from empiricism and fail to achieve profound basic summations. To this day quantitative and mathematical methods and computers are still not used with adequate effectiveness in sociological work.

A number of reasons could be cited for such shortcomings, the main one being the level of cadre training. The fact is that, so far, essentially our country does not offer higher sociology training. It is a fact that most postgraduate students in sociology are young people without suitable sociological university training. Not the least important consequence of this fact is that ignoramuses and hacks act as sociologists. Lacking proper methodology and research methods, they draw up primitive surveys and unceremoniously take people away from their jobs. The results of such studies show that the information they provide could simply have been culled from plant records, while their recommendations are no more than transcripts of orders issued by administrations or decisions of enterprise party committees.

Such waste could be avoided, the scope of sociological studies could be broadened and, above all, their quality could be enhanced and sociological services could be set up at enterprises, associations and sectors by creating sociology departments in philosophy faculties of universities and in some economic VUZs which would train skilled specialists. What, for instance, would prevent the economic faculties from training sociologists for work in industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and so on, while philosophical faculties would train specialists to study the social structure, management systems, culture, spiritual life, public opinion, life, family, or topics falling within the scope of general sociological theory?

Such a system would be quite efficient, the more so since some VUZs have already done a certain amount of preparatory work in this direction. The philosophy departments at Moscow, Leningrad, Belorussian and a number of other universities

have introduced courses for the specialization of students in specific sociological studies. At the Leningrad Institute of Finance and Economics such specialization is based on economic training. Sociology departments are successfully operating in the evening Marxism-Leninism universities of party committees of many cities. A number of books on methods and technology of specific sociological studies have been published. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research came out with the "Rabochaya Kniga Sotsiologa" [The Sociologist's Work Manual], which could be used initially as a textbook for the training of specialists.

Therefore, certain prerequisites for the introduction of higher sociological education in the country already exist. The question of the need has been repeatedly raised in PRAVDA and other party press organs. So far, however, the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has not taken real measures to this effect. Yet, the lack of training of sociological specialists in the higher schools today constitutes a major hindrance to the development of sociological studies in the country.

What are the main scientific results of sociological studies and what are the tasks of their future development? A full answer to such questions would necessitate a great deal of detail and an extensive treatment. For this reason, let us consider the situation and the immediate prospects of the basic directions which have developed in accordance with practical requirements, each of which requires a comprehensive approach. Such an approach could be secured on the basis of the unified initial theoretical postulates found in historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism, in a number of individual sociological disciplines, actively applied here, and in the skillful formulation of specific sociological studies which would enable us to determine the deep processes occurring in life with the help of modern methods.

The study of the processes of changes in the social structure of Soviet society has been based on the theoretical analysis of the problem provided in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses. Here again methodological problems were given priority. Two extremes found in scientific publications were surmounted in the course of their discussion. On the one hand, one-sidedly interpreting the progressive rapprochement between workers and industrial intelligentsia under socialism, including the use of some engineers and technicians in work places controlling machine units, handling complex equipment and so on, some sociologists tended to broaden the boundaries of the working class under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution by including the intellectuals in its ranks. On the other hand, the trend toward interpreting the Soviet working class as the sum total of people engaged in physical labor exclusively was surmounted.

What did sociological studies show? They offered convincing proof of the existence and rapid growth of a stratum of highly skilled workers controlling complex equipment and possessing secondary specialized or higher education, essentially engaged in mental work. Such "new-type production workers" (L. I. Brezhnev) do not fit the definition of the working class as a group of individuals engaged in physical (or even primarily physical) work. Furthermore, this labor stratum has some of the features of the industrial intelligentsia.

The characteristic features of this stratum of "worker-intellectuals" close to the industrial intelligentsia, are higher labor standards, knowledge of a number of related skills, high-level sociopolitical activeness, and a broad range of vocational and cultural interests. As this stratum expands we cannot fail to see in it the features of the future worker engaged in material production. A similar stratum is growing among the kolkhoz members as well.

Another central problem which has drawn the attention of sociologists is the need to eliminate heavy manual and unskilled labor in operating machines and mechanisms and drastically reducing the size of this stratum among workers and kolkhoz members. This is a complex problem which, as we know, is being studied not only by sociologists but by economists and by representatives of essentially all social sciences. The task of eliminating this type of work, formulated in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, called upon the sociologists to undertake studies aimed at determining the social significance of the problem and establishing the social possibilities of labor collectives. The studies revealed that material compensation which is used to a certain extent to fill vacancies involving heavy, manual, monotonous, dangerous or other types of work, is becoming increasingly unattractive to the young working class reinforcements whose general educational training level is high. Increasing difficulties are being encountered in filling jobs requiring unskilled work. In the years to come the situation could become even further aggravated in many parts of the country, essentially for demographic reasons.

Comprehensive production mechanization is a basic link in resolving this problem. However, it is precisely sociological research that indicates that conversion to new forms of labor organization which call for collective responsibility and directly link material and moral incentive with end results of the work of brigades, shops, plants or kolkhozes lead to the drastic curtailment of the very need for such types of work. The social reserves of labor collectives are, essentially, inexhaustible. The measures for the dissemination of the brigade system and other forms of progressive experience, stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on improving the economic mechanism, create a broad field of action for local initiative. Involving sociologists and social psychologists along with economists in the formulation of specific recommendations in sectors, associations, enterprises and kolkhozes is a mandatory prerequisite for the solution of a truly historical social problem of reducing to naught as soon as possible the stratum of workers and kolkhoz members engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work.

Another essential question is the following: The social structure of Soviet society is closely linked with the national structure. When the USSR entered the stage of mature socialism a new historical community--the Soviet people, a social and international community--developed. The socialist nations and nationalities within the Soviet nation have a uniform social structure consisting of a working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia.

Does this mean, however, that here again all problems have been resolved? A number of ethnosociological studies conducted in all-union and many autonomous republics revealed specific features of a growing social homogeneity in such national-state formations and their populations. Whereas in terms of the youth's

general educational level the situation was more or less the same, such was not the case in terms of vocational training. This included a number of republics in central Asia, where the percentage of young people among the native population is higher than the national average. For this reason (as well as for many others) the qualification breakdown of the working class in a number of republics is behind the national indicators. This calls for the adoption of serious measures. The situation has been equalized in the administrative and humanitarian fields. Such has not been entirely the case in terms of the engineering and technical intelligentsia.

Specific recommendations consistent with local conditions cannot be formulated without a thorough sociological study of the plans of young people, their aspirations and plans for the future, and the clarification of the reasons motivating such plans. Such studies have been extensively conducted throughout the country, and the task is to insure their greater application in well-planned practical recommendations to be submitted to management authorities.

Let us enumerate, even though briefly, some other problems related to changes in the social structure, actively developed by sociologists at the present time. They include the role of production concentration, the growth of interfarm associations in the countryside and the development of the agroindustrial complex in the rapprochement between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry; the importance of the further industrialization of agricultural production, the resettlement of the populations of small towns in large urbanized settlements, which would change the social structure of the rural population, improved cultural living conditions in the villages and removal of social disparities between town and country; the role of wages based on labor, of private auxiliary farms and public consumption funds in the population's income and in surmounting social disparities; the link between the development of the social structure and its reproduction in the course of the change of generations, and the expansion of the scale and significance of social changes, i.e., the transition of workers and their children from one social group to another; the social sources of the reinforcement of the working class and the intelligentsia under contemporary conditions; and the tie between changes in the professional and the socioclass structure. In particular, at least theoretically, an important and very controversial problem such as the interconnection between the trend toward increased specialization in the vocational division of labor and the trend toward changes in the work and in the growth of social integration has not been adequately developed, not least because of the scarcity of empirical data.

Studies of the Soviet socialist way of life and of means leading to its improvement have become particularly energized of late. In the 1960s sociological studies in this area were essentially focused on the study of individual features of the socialist way of life (labor, living conditions, culture, use of leisure time and so on). The 1970s were marked by a more profound and comprehensive approach to the study of the various fields of activity and by the aspiration to establish the interconnection among all features of the socialist way of life, synthesize them and provide a comprehensive analysis of its advantages. We have grounds for noting the useful work done by sociologists, together with philosophers and economists, on the formulation of the very concept of "way of life"

based on Marxist-Leninist methodology and on the determination of its place within the system of sociological categories, interpreting the connection between way of life and living standards, "quality of life," "lifestyle," and so on.

The link between this concept and the category of the means of production of material goods and the distinctions between the two were comprehensively clarified in the course of discussions about the nature of the socialist way of life.

A conclusion of essential importance was reached: the way of life is characterized not only by the labor, the production, but also by other aspects of human activities. It is a vivid manifestation of its class nature and radically changes as a result of the building of socialism. The socialist way of life is a sum total, a system of essential features of human activities in all fields of social life. Let us particularly emphasize that discussions of the correlation between individual activities and conditions governing the way of life made it possible to concretize the dialectical nature of their interrelationship in various areas such as labor, way of life, cultural creativity of the masses and sociopolitical work. Human activities are determined by conditions in which previous activities are materialized. However, together with them, it is precisely in the crucible of their conscious creative activity that such conditions undergo further changes.

Improving the socialist way of life is not a spontaneous process, but a planned one, developing under the guidance of the party and the state. It must take into consideration the specific features of town and country and of regional and national conditions, labor collectives, and social strata.

Comprehensive sociological studies were undertaken on the basis of the theoretical elaboration of these problems dealing with changes in the way of life of the various population groups. For example, workers from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research studied the way of life of the rural population and formulated forecasts extending to the year 2000. The data were used by the USSR Gosstroy. A number of studies conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography dealt with the life of the rural population based on specific national conditions. Time budget studies indicated considerable potential for a more rational utilization of leisure time, among women in particular. The formulation of a comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress and its social consequences for 1990 and the year 2000, drafted by the USSR Academy of Sciences, used sociological data on the development of communist principles in the socialist way of life on the basis of the increased social guarantees provided by society for the individual citizens in accordance with the new USSR Constitution.

The further study of processes governing the development of the socialist way of life remains one of the most important trends of research in the social sciences. The increased contribution of sociology to the solution of this comprehensive problem requires the concentration of efforts on the following aspects of the problem: increasing the similarity in the ways of life of the urban and rural populations, classes, social groups, strata, nations and nationalities in the

Soviet Union; struggle between the new and the old in the course of development of the socialist way of life, including the struggle to surmount consumerist trends and petit bourgeois and philistine vestiges in the ways of life of some population categories; changing the structure of the leisure time of the different social and age group population categories as a result of increased motor mobility, development of television, physical culture, sports and tourism, broadened amateur activities, gardening in particular, and so on; and the elaboration of models of the socialist way of life, enabling us to link its qualitative features with the system of quantitative indicators, thus forecasting its further development which is extremely necessary in long-term planning.

The elaboration of social planning problems is the most important direction to be followed in the development of sociological research.

Let us note in particular the great methodological importance to the development of sociology of the clear demarcation between the social concept in the broad meaning of the term and the social concept in the strict meaning of the term. The first meaning of the social concept is fully applicable when society is compared with nature and the social form of matter dynamics with biological dynamics. However, in accordance with old Marxist tradition (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, p 301 and following), the social concept in the narrow meaning of the term means the interaction among individuals or among social groups and classes. The most important party and state documents, including the new USSR Constitution, speak of social development, of the social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, of social planning, and so on, side by side with the economic, political and cultural development of society, economic and cultural policy, economic planning, and so on.

Actually, social development, social planning, and social policy and the numerous concepts related to social relations and the social system based on them cannot be considered as being simply "alongside" economics, politics, and culture. Social relations are an important aspect of economic, political and cultural relations characterizing the interaction between individuals and society through social groups. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that structural concepts such as the socioeconomic and sociopolitical structure of society, sociocultural policy, and so on, have become part of Marxist literature.

The planning of the social development of labor collectives, developed during the 8th Five-Year Plan and approved at the 24th CPSU Congress, gave a powerful impetus to domestic sociology. Sociologists from most scientific institutions and VUZs became involved in social planning. Sociological services appeared in many enterprises. In the 9th and 10th five-year plans the practice of social planning was developed in a number of directions with the direct participation of sociologists. This required extensive and innovative scientific research. Let us note some of its aspects.

First, social development planning covered tens of thousands of labor collectives in enterprises, construction projects and economic associations; it was extended to kolkhozes, sovkhoses, scientific institutions and service enterprises.

This required the formulation of methodical instructions for planning the social development of labor collectives of different types. With the help of the economists, the sociologists drafted a method which played a positive role in the dissemination of progressive experience in this area (a second expanded edition was published by Profizdat in 1975). The planning of social development on the scale of an industrial sector required the extension of this work (a corresponding method was published in 1979).

Second, social planning became widespread in cities and rural rayons and, subsequently, on the oblast scale. Let us note particularly the comprehensive plans for economic and social development of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, Minsk, Krasnoyarskiy Kray and many other of the largest cities and oblasts, formulated with the participation of sociologists. The experience gained in planning the social development of cities and regions was summarized in a number of scientific works. It was the basis for the drafting of methodical instructions on urban social planning written by a group of sociologists and economists, also published by Profizdat in 1978.

Third, the section on "Social Problems of the Development of the National Economy and Culture" of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress and Its Socioeconomic Consequences for 1976-1990 was drafted by sociologists from the USSR Academy of Sciences with the assistance of ministries and departments. At the 25th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev noted that "work on this program must be continued, as it is an organic component of current and long-term planning. It provides guidelines without which the economy cannot be successfully managed." The work is continuing today in the course of formulating forecasts for the period until the year 2000.

Today planning has entered a new stage. The USSR Constitution stipulates that all state plans are comprehensive plans for economic and social development. Instead of having plans for social development which merely supplement the basic--the economic--plan, today social sections everywhere are becoming components of comprehensive plans. Yet, such sections retain a subordinate nature even in the methodical instructions issued by the USSR Gosplan on formulating plans for associations (enterprises) for the 11th Five-Year Plan. They are not yet organically linked with production assignments, nor are they totally oriented toward the comprehensive utilization of social factors for upgrading production effectiveness. The scientific public, including sociologists, has the task of tremendous scale and practical significance of upgrading the scientific substantiation of plans at all levels of management.

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that the expanded scale and qualitative changes in the socialist economy formulate stricter requirements regarding the management. It is no longer possible to be satisfied with its existing ways and means, notwithstanding their previous suitability. The studies conducted by the sociologists lead to the conclusion that the successful solution of a number of national economic problems depends on the fortuitous solution of social problems such as increased cadre turnover, dissatisfaction with labor conditions and content, and so on. References to shortages of capital investments, cadres, new equipment and so on are frequently used as a screen by

careless managers who thus "justify" their inability to manage effectively social processes within the labor collective, city, oblast or sector. As practical experience indicates, the improved organization of labor, living conditions, services and health care, and the organization of relations among people within the collective could be as effective as the use of additional material and manpower resources. This has been confirmed by reality.

The elaboration of a system of social indicators and its inclusion in the practice of national economic planning become the most important practical and theoretical tasks facing sociology.

Naturally, the resolution of this problem is no simple matter. The elaboration and improvement of a system of economic indicators in national economic planning took many decades. The practice of the building of communism presented Soviet scientists with the task of formulating a comprehensive system of socioeconomic indicators for all social management levels. Extensive studies are required for the scientific "reading" points of social changes in accordance with the basic objectives of the building of communism. The formulation of such a system of indicators would be inconceivable without a number of preceding specific sociological studies representative of the country at large. This has already been undertaken by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Second, we must interrelate the still frequently uncoordinated social and economic indicators within a single organically integrated system of socioeconomic indicators of national economic planning. This will require extensive and intensive joint efforts on the part of economists, sociologists, statisticians and other social scientists. Finally, the system of socioeconomic indicators should include indicators "operative" at all levels of economic and social planning and management (country-region-republic-oblast (kray)-city-rayon, on the one hand, and country-sector-primary labor collective, on the other).

The comprehensive system of economic and social development indicators drafted by Soviet scientists working together with practical workers will be an important link in improving throughout the mechanism of planning and management and in upgrading its effectiveness.

The sociological study of ideological processes within society was formulated in close contact with the party organs. A major study on determining the mechanism governing the molding of public opinion under the conditions of an industrial city of average size was completed in the first half of the 1970s. Studies of audiences of different mass information and propaganda media were conducted in a number of parts of the country. Their results were put to practical use. The readership of PRAVDA was studied. This enabled us to make a comparison with previous studies conducted toward the end of the 1960s. The USSR Library imeni V. I. Lenin and many other libraries in the country are actively applying sociological methods in their surveys of the tastes and requirements of their readers. Today studies related to the growth of the cultural standard of the working people are being related ever more closely with plans for the cultural development of the populations of specific territories. Sverdlovskaya, Omskaya and many other oblasts in the RSFSR have drafted long-term plans for the development of cultural institutions based on sociological studies of the needs of the working people through 1990.

With the help of sociologists the party organizations of a number of republics, kraya, oblasts, big cities and urban rayons have made extensive studies of the effectiveness of various forms of ideological influence and of units within the party educational system (Moscow, Leningrad, Gor'kovskaya, Chelyabinskaya and Moscow oblasts, Stavropol'skiy Kray, and many others).

A number of party committees have created successfully operating voluntary sociological research councils staffed by scientists from different fields (sociologists, economists, psychologists and so on), party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic workers, the party aktivs and representatives of the public. A noteworthy example is that of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee. The solution of the complex problems facing the republic party organization with the familiar CC CPSU decree on the work of the Tbilisi City Party Committee would have been impossible without mobilizing mass public opinion against deeply rooted tolerance of phenomena such as string pulling, bribery, misappropriation of public funds, and so on. Oral and printed propaganda loudly mentioned shortcomings in the sociopsychological climate of labor collectives, institutions and cities. Specific culprits were named. At the same time the study of public opinion among the various population categories was undertaken to determine the extent to which the party was influencing the minds and hearts of the people. The effectiveness of ideological work is determined by increased public production effectiveness, as a rule not directly, but through its influence on the conscientiousness of the people, their views, mentalities, and concepts and value orientation manifested in human behavior.

Today sociological studies focused directly on upgrading the standard of intra-party work play an essential role in upgrading the effectiveness of party propaganda. A number of propaganda and agitation departments of local party committees have developed the practice of systematically studying the level of satisfaction of the different student categories within the party training network regarding the forms of Marxist-Leninist studies in which they are involved and the quality of the training offered in circles, seminars, and evening Marxism-Leninism universities. This will enable us in the future to take more fully into consideration the requests of party members, to correct shortcomings in the training system, and to improve the quality of propaganda workers.

However, substantial gaps remain in this area of sociological research to this day. The CC CPSU decree "On Improving Further Ideological and Political-Educational Work" indicates the need for insuring a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation. A solution to this problem will require the concentrated efforts of all social scientists. Sociologists must make a particularly important contribution to the solution. As we know, sociological methods can and should be used in the study not merely of the objective conditions of human existence but of the reflection of such conditions in the people's minds, arising needs and interests, and changes in value orientations. The decree stipulates that, "particular attention should be paid to the profound and comprehensive study of public opinion through sociological research."

Systematic "samplings" of public opinion on the most important problems of Soviet domestic and foreign policy are needed with a view to further improving

propaganda and agitation and to upgrading their influence on the molding of the new man. Here again sociologists face an important governmental assignment: the formulation of an operative and effective nationwide mass survey system which would enable us to reach a level of accuracy and representativeness of results which would turn it into a reliable instrument in party guidance and state management. Consideration of public opinion in social management is one of the most important features of the Soviet sociopolitical system. Effective measures must be taken to expand the use of mass information and propaganda media, radio and television above all, for such purposes. Serious attention should be paid to the study and dissemination of the positive experience acquired in this respect by a number of republics and oblasts as is the case, for example, with the Estonian SSR.

At the same time, more extensive use should be made of sociological methods in the comprehensive elaboration of educational problems with a view to insuring uniform ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing in accordance with the characteristics of the various groups of working people. A high degree of vigilance, opportune rebuff of enemy ideological diversions, and an increase in the effectiveness and intensification of the aggressive nature of all ideological-educational work are needed under the conditions of the pressure applied by the forces of imperialism for the purpose of undermining the process of detente through a new aggravation of international tension and the outburst of the "psychological warfare" waged against the Soviet Union and the energizing of bourgeois propaganda.

The increased role of sociological research in providing scientific support for party ideological activities is inseparable from the task faced by Soviet sociology in the international arena and in the development of studies critical of contemporary bourgeois sociology. Substantial positive changes have been noted in this area in recent years.

Monographs have been published for the first time in the country on the history of bourgeois sociology (19th-first half of the 20th century), and on the history of sociology in the USSR. Works are under way on the history of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the socialist countries and on the history of domestic sociology. Extensive work has been done on criticism of contemporary bourgeois sociology and its various schools and trends (structural functionalism, neo-evolutionism, social interactionism and the theory of social conflicts).

The test of time has proven the scientific groundlessness of contemporary bourgeois sociology. Reality has caused many Western scientists as well to realize its critical condition. This does not mean, however, that bourgeois sociology has left the stage. It continues to exist and to perform its class support functions, ideological as well as practical. Its influence must not be underestimated. The use of modern methods and empirical research technology has enabled bourgeois sociologists to study local social processes and to formulate measures both to control them and to perform an ideological role. Bourgeois sociology is most directly connected with television, the radio, the press and other instruments for the dissemination of the so-called mass culture. All bourgeois information and propaganda media are focused on "proving" that modern capitalism is no longer capitalism but an allegedly "new" society which is able to resolve social problems.

Soviet sociologists have undertaken the more profound study of the works of bourgeois sociologists, in order to analyze the social problems of contemporary capitalism comprehensively and to react to the new trends in the development of American and Western European sociological ideas more rapidly. The criticism of an ideology hostile to us has become more thorough and substantive. We may consider that the concepts of structural functionalism and bourgeois social psychology which influenced some Soviet authors have been essentially surmounted.

Soviet sociologists have paid particular attention to criticising the various alternative sociological concepts of the "post-industrial society" whose purpose is to "substantiate" the alleged inevitability of the total or partial "convergence" of capitalism and socialism and the following of this "single" model by the developing countries. The theoretical base of such concepts expressed through so-called technological determinism has been subjected to convincing critical analysis. The purpose of "technological determinism" is to derive changes in the social structure and the political and ideological superstructure directly from the trends of technical and economic development, bypassing the main problem of the nature of social relations and the need for a radical change in the form of ownership and, therefore, in the socioeconomic system of bourgeois society.

Unquestionably, the criticism of bourgeois sociology has become more operative. Newly developed concepts ("zero growth" and "organic growth" in the reports of the Club of Rome, the left-wing radical "alternative" sociology, and others) are being interpreted critically in Soviet scientific publications, including the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA and in the publications of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences (INION).

The participation of Soviet scientists in the seventh (Varna, 1970), eighth (Toronto, 1974), and ninth (Uppsala, 1978) world sociological congresses has played a major role in acquiring greater familiarity with the state of bourgeois sociology and in the struggle against it. The results of the participation of Soviet sociologists in the proceedings of such representative assemblies were opportunely covered by the press and were given an overall positive rating. Yet, let us note the desirability of a better organized and more purposeful preparation for international congresses, the timely receipt and study of Western scientific papers, and the even more energetic use of congresses for aggressive discussions and for the dissemination and defense of Marxist-Leninist ideas. This must be taken into consideration in connection with the preparations for the forthcoming 10th International Sociological Congress (Mexico City, 1982).

In their international activities Soviet sociologists are cooperating closely with sociologists of the fraternal socialist countries. The past period has been marked by a substantial improvement in coordinating the work of social scientists from the socialist comity. Joint works by Soviet and Polish sociologists have been published simultaneously in the USSR and Poland. Bilateral relations are expanding and multilateral cooperation is being organized.

A commission on "Evolution of the Social Structure of the Socialist Society. Social Planning and Forecasting" has been operational since 1974. It includes sociologists from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Central theoretical problems are discussed at commission meetings. Joint studies have been undertaken by a number of fraternal countries on the working class and youth problems. The writing of a collective monograph on "History of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the European Socialist Countries Following World War II" is a major undertaking. Unfortunately, work on this book is dragging.

To this day major shortcomings exist in the areas of criticism of bourgeois sociology and the development of international cooperation. A certain lag remains in the study and the critical analysis of new phenomena in bourgeois and reformist sociology, particularly in exposing their connections with politics. In the leading Western countries foreign political forecasting is based on the various concepts of the so-called sociology of international relations used by the opponents of detente. The criticism of these and other bourgeois sociological concepts must be more closely linked with the tasks of the political and ideological struggle waged by the CPSU in the international arena. The insufficient participation of Soviet sociologists in the struggle against Maoist ideology, hostile to Marxism-Leninism, remains clearly inadequate. Little has been accomplished in the study of sociological thinking in the developing countries.

The solution of such major problems requires greater unification of the efforts of Soviet sociologists and scientists in other fields and the interaction between the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research and specialized academic institutions such as the Far East, United States and Canada, Latin America, Africa and other institutes, with the cooperation between sociologists and scientists working in the field of historical materialism and the theory of scientific communism, with members of the other social, natural and technical sciences, and the mass development of sociological studies of different types and scales.

The party demands that Soviet sociology considerably expand the range of scientific studies in order to upgrade the effectiveness of all units within the social organism and contribute to the fuller realization of the tremendous possibilities and advantages contained within the socialist system. The study of human activities, in the entire range of their manifestations and in connection with the specific conditions of their social way of life, is the most important task of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the USSR.

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SOVIET SOCIOLOGY FOR THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

STATE REGULATION OF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF SOCIETY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF MATURE SOCIALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 16-24

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/Text/ The assurance of the proportionate growth of the economy of the mature socialist society requires the constant improvement of the system of management of the national economy. As was noted at the 25th CPSU Congress, when the correct policy is elaborated, "organization, that is, the further improvement of the management of the economy in the broadest sense of the word, becomes the decisive link."¹ The improvement of planning, an orientation toward the end national economic results, the elimination of various types of irregularities in the working of the economic mechanism--such is the group of main and urgent tasks in the implementation of the economic policy of the party.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs," and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality," were adopted in 1979. At the October (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum in the speech of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev attention was again directed to the urgency and great importance of the further improvement of the management and planning mechanism and the methods of management and to the tightening up of executive discipline. The plenum emphasized that the shortcomings in this area are one of the important factors which are complicating the turn to efficiency and the changeover of the entire national economy to the path of intensive development.²

The problems of the economic activity of the state under the conditions of mature socialism are constantly at the center of attention of Soviet scientists. In recent years a lively discussion on the correlation of the economic activity of the state and the economic base of socialist society has taken place in scientific literature. The claim about the transformation of the economic organs of the socialist state into a component of the economic base³ was subject to fundamental

criticism on the part of a number of specialists who work in the area of legal science, political economics and historical materialism.⁴ Noting the special role of the socialist state in the assurance of the planned growth of social production and the organization of the economic life of society, they indicate that the relations in the system of management of the economy are far from identical to the social production relations which form the economic base of socialist society. The attempts to include the economic organs of the socialist state in the base inevitably lead to the exaggeration of the importance of administrative methods in the economic development of socialist society and give rise to the illusion of the economic omnipotence of the state.

The discussion showed the need for a more precise interpretation of the content of the concepts "base" and "superstructure" as applied to the mature socialist society, as well as the thorough consideration of the features of their relationship and interaction. The point of view that the concepts of the economic base and the economic sphere of the life of society are delimited, received support.⁵

Unlike the economic base, the economic life of society does not reduce to the set of production relations. It embraces all economic processes and mechanisms (including the activity of the economic organs of the state) in the unity of their objective and subjective aspects. While emphasizing the methodological importance of such a delimitation, it must not be forgotten that the main features of the economic life of society, the qualitative uniqueness and laws of its development can be understood only by studying production relations. The revelation of the essence and intrinsic logic of the development of production relations, their changes and qualitative shifts in constant connection with the further growth of the productive forces is the main condition of a consistently materialistic analysis of the economic life of society.

When examining from such a standpoint the economic base of capitalist society, attention should be directed to its link with mechanized production. Capitalist production relations as the relations of the exploitation of hired labor, the buying and selling of productive forces arose and began to develop at the textile mill and by means of it. However, it is possible to fully judge capitalist society only when capital found in mechanized production a material and technical base equal to its exploitative essence. The development of capitalism into the imperialist stage is also objectively connected with mechanized production. The domination of large-scale monopoly capital is a natural result of the concentration of industrial production under the conditions of bourgeois competition. At the same time it is also a socio-economic form of the adaptation of capital to the process of the socialization of production and labor, which is inherent in large-scale mechanized industry. Imperialism in its essence is that stage of the development of the economic base of capitalism at which it is transformed into a world economic system, into a system of the exploitation by international capital of entire countries and peoples.

Under imperialism the social relations, institutions and theories, which are the superstructure above the economic base of capitalism and serve it, undergo the corresponding, but by no means radical changes. It is typical that all contemporary bourgeois theorists and social reformers, who pass off state monopoly capitalism as "the new industrial society" and even "the society of democratic socialism," defend just as insistently the freedom of free enterprise and market

relations. While regarding the latter as a general economic condition of the existence of so-called pure, that is, bourgeois, democracy, they are in fact defending the unity of the economic base and superstructure of capitalist society on its historical basis.

Since public ownership of the means of production cannot arise within private-ownership relations, no matter what they are, socialist transformations in the economy presume and dictate the need for the establishment first of all of the state power of the working class--the carrying out of a radical political revolution. The socialization of the basic means of production, with which all socialist transformations in the economy begin, immediately receives the appropriate consolidation by constitutional law. Being the political form of a real process, such consolidation creates the social conditions for the formation and strengthening of socialist production relations. As to the objective dependence of this process on the state of the productive forces, it is expressed, first, in the fact that the direct transition to socialist production relations presumes the existence of quite specific industrial prerequisites and, second, in the fact that the development of the socialist system of production relations, which cover the distribution, exchange and consumption of physical assets, is carried out only to that extent and in that form in which this is possible with the given productive forces. Precisely for this reason in the countries converting to socialism the national ownership of the means of production is being combined with more limited forms of cooperative ownership, which assume a socialist nature only in their interaction with national, state ownership. Small-scale private ownership can also be preserved in the economy of socialist countries, since its complete elimination is not economically advisable.

Sociohistorical experience convincingly demonstrates that any anticipation, any attempts to speed up the convergences of the forms of socialist ownership by administrative means do considerable harm to the economic development of socialist society. This, however, by no means eliminates the need for the socialist state to take constantly into account the real needs and possibilities of such a convergence which is created by the development of the material and technical base of society. The socialist state is called upon, by relying on the scientific analysis of the processes taking place, to make changes in the forms of the economic life of society, thereby promoting the further development of social production and the successful solution of the entire set of problems of the building of socialism and communism.

The dual nature of management which was revealed by K. Marx plays an important role in the improvement of the management of social production under socialism. K. Marx thus formulated this problem as applied to capitalism: production, "...on the one hand, is a social process of labor for the making of a product and, on the other, a process of the increase of capital...."⁶ The subordination of management to capital has the result that under capitalism it does not rise to the level of the social nature of industrial production. Depression events, which have now assumed a stable, protracted nature, show in all evidence the spontaneity of the effect of economic laws in the presence of the state monopoly regulation of the economy as well. Such an association of the people of labor, for which the coordination of their production efforts within the entire national economy is both possible and necessary, is in accord only with the socialist ownership of the basic means of production. The unified management of production as directly social

production acts as one of the general conditions of the functioning of the public ownership of the means of production and its development. Stressing the importance of such unity, V. I. Lenin wrote: "All large-scale mechanized industry--that is, precisely the material, production source and foundation of socialism--requires the unconditional and strictest /unity of will/ */in italics/* which directs the joint work of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. Technically, economically and historically this need is obvious, it has always been recognized by all who have thought about socialism as its condition."⁷

Under socialism, when the need for the legal assurance of the observance of the norms of labor and consumption is preserved, unified public management of production is embodied in a state form. The fact that without state management socialist production cannot successfully function and develop, is confirmed by all historical experience. At the same time the dual nature of the management of socialist social production is not always and not so specifically shown in scientific works. In particular, an adequately clear distinction is not made between the activity of economic organs on the assurance of the concerted actions of labor collectives and the proportionate development of the productive forces of society, on the one hand, and state regulation of economic and social production relations proper in the broad sense, on the other.

The crux of the matter is that the economic activity of the organs of the socialist state, which is directly connected with the material and technical aspect of social production, is a component of organizational (organizational and technical) relations, and not economic relations proper. Organizational relations, being an expression and consolidation of the movement and interaction of individual elements of the production process, are connected with it in the same way as mental and physical activity are combined in labor. In this quality of theirs, the organizational relations, just as the organizational and technical aspect of the economic activity of the socialist state, act as one of the intrinsic features of the functioning and development of social productive forces.

Organizational and technical management occurs in each, even the smallest and isolated production process. It ensures the direct cooperation and coordination of the actions of the people who take part in this process. In other words, organizational relations are a necessary condition of any cooperation of labor, which presumes the conscious and planned action of many people in the process of production for obtaining an overall result.

However, the functions of the overall management of production, which embrace its organizational and technical aspect, begin to be formed and developed only under socialism, when the public cooperation of labor and the direct coordination of the sectors of the national economy become a historical reality. In indicating this specific nature of the activity of the socialist state, V. I. Lenin back during the first years of Soviet power noted its transformation "...into an organization which directly performs the functions of the management of the economy of the country...."⁸

The need to improve the economic mechanism of management in many ways is dictated by the growth of large-scale industrial production, the concentration and broadening of the intersectorial and territorial ties between all the links of the

national economy. In this capacity the economic organs of the socialist state are not "immersed" in the economic base of society (the system of production relations), but serve immediately and directly the matter of the planned and proportionate development of the productive forces of society. The socialist state most actively influences the economic base, by participating directly in the process of the development of the productive forces of society. By concentrating material, raw material, energy and manpower resources in its hands, distributing them among the different sectors of the national economy and allocating assets for the creation of new production capacities, the socialist state thereby ensures the realization of the possibilities for the planned development and public regulation of production.

In characterizing the direct involvement of the socialist state in the social process of production and the planned and proportionate development of the productive forces, it can be noted with every reason that such activity of it is the most important connecting link of the entire socialist economy. "In the USSR Constitution," it was noted at the October (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "it is quite correctly emphasized that the economy of the country is a unified national economic complex. It functions on the basis of a complex system of intersectorial and territorial production relations. And, of course, only the center can effectively manage this complex as a unified whole and countervail departmental and regional tendencies. On the other hand, the initiative of the provinces, labor collectives and economic managers must be developed to the utmost for the normal functioning of the economy. It is necessary for the bulk of day-to-day problems to be solved precisely where it is possible to solve them quickly, without excessive delays and referrals."⁹

But the socialist state also has another function, which is distinct from the first, although inseparable from it--the function of managing the production relations among people, which is directly connected with the means of the formation and satisfaction of their vital needs. The dual nature of the management activity of the socialist state consists precisely in the fact that it embraces both the management of production taken in its organizational and technical aspect and the management of economic relations. In its second sense the coordination of the organs of the state and production relations is one of the central features of the coordination of the superstructure and the economic base.

The attitude of people toward labor and their social activeness, in short, the development of social production and society as a whole depend to a decisive extent on how production relations are formed and developed. The system of social production relations, in particular, is the economic base of society because it determines the general direction of the practical actions of people on the use and development of productive forces.

As K. Marx noted, the constant reproduction of the economic base "acquires with the passage of time a regulated and orderly form," becomes "a form of the strengthening of the given mode of production," "is sanctioned as a positive law,"¹⁰ that is, under specific historical conditions also gives rise to its own consolidation by constitutional law. The socialist state of objective necessity becomes that political form of the organization of the workers themselves, which ensures the durability of the system of socialist production relations and its freedom from various types of fortuities, negative tendencies and deviations. In this activity

the socialist state relies on the growth of large-scale mechanized industry, but the growth itself still does not lead to the strengthening and development of the system of socialist social relations.

The practical experience of building socialism and communism shows in all evidence that the simple increase of the production of articles of personal consumption is far from always accompanied by the development of socialist relations. Being a general condition of their development, the growth of social production can lead to the revival among a part of the population of a consumer psychology and to the aspiration to achieve material well-being by any means, including at the expense of society.

Consumerism, in whatever form it may appear and no matter how it may be concealed, is the complete opposite of the socialist way of life, which provides for the increase of the well-being of each person on the basis of his social labor activity. It has nothing in common either with collectivism or with the law of the increase of the demands of the workers, which requires the harmonious development of their social, intellectual and physical abilities. It would be no exaggeration to say that consumerism is a spontaneous tendency which feeds the antipodes of socialism: speculation, bribery, parasitism, bureaucracy and so forth. Consumerism leaves its mark on the relations between people and ably adapts itself to socialist relations, seeking the most unforeseen loopholes for unearned enrichment.

The role of the state in combatting the antipodes of socialism is exceptionally great. By taking steps of public coercion and exercising control over the norm of labor and consumption, it promotes the strengthening of the economic base of socialist society and the constant improvement of the state forms of the organization of the material life of society, on which the effectiveness of the activity of state and public organizations and institutions on eradicating the vestiges of private-ownership psychology in turn depends in many ways.

In characterizing the interaction of the state organization of the economic life of socialist society with the system of its social production relations, it is necessary to indicate the known difficulty of differentiating between them. Since the socialist state serves the interests of the workers and strives from a scientific standpoint to improve the management of the national economy, the content of the legal norms of the regulation of economic relations on the whole and essentially coincides with the real, actual state of these relations. The state system of wages, material stimulation, pricing and so on acts as a direct, although special, form of the expression, consolidation and functioning of socialist production relations. The notion might arise that this aspect of the economic management activity of the state is something primary and decisive in the economic development of society. However, in spite of all their importance, the state forms of the organization of the economic life of society remain secondary and are determined by the production relations which form the economic base of socialism.

The concrete historical features of the development of public ownership of the means of production are first of all a subject of sociological research in the area of socialist production relations. In its interaction with the growth of the productive forces of socialist society this process has an objective content which does not depend on the will and consciousness of people. The state, of course, can

establish various administrative legal norms of the socialization of the means of production, but their actual effectiveness depends to a decisive extent on how realistically they correlate with the already existing production relations and how economically precisely they reflect the trend of their further objective development.

Thus, at the stage of mature socialism the realization of the new material and technical potentials for the organization of large production associations acquires paramount importance. This, on the one hand, makes it possible to use the means of social production in a more concentrated and efficient manner and, on the other, provides more room for the use of the achievements of science and technology in the national economy. The July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum established inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration as the economic base for the concentration of agricultural production and the assurance of its further growth.¹¹

The role of the state is determined here first of all by how economically soundly it promotes the development of the social cooperation of labor. Here the state, of course, should proceed both from the analysis of the specific state of the productive forces in the different sectors of the national economy and from the real content of production relations.

The tendency toward the gradual equalization of the living and working conditions of all members of society is just as objectively dictated as is the development under socialism of the public ownership of the means of production. In the final analysis it ensues from the increase of the social importance of all types of socially necessary labor under socialism, which was further consolidated in the draft plan of the CPSU Central Committee on USSR economic and social development for 1981-1985.

Here it is necessary for this tendency to be combined with the increase of the importance of the wage as a form of material stimulation and with the assurance of the constant material interest of the workers in the increase of the productivity of their labor and the improvement of its organization. Any deviations in the implementation of the system of distribution according to labor, which do not have substantial economic grounds, sooner or later make themselves felt and lead to artificial difficulties and even irregularities of the proportionate and planned development of socialist production.

Thus, the leading role of the system of production relations is fully manifested in the fact that the change of the state forms of its organization yields an economic impact only with the objective evaluation of the content of production relations, their real possibilities and trends of development and with the achieved level of development of the productive forces. Although under socialism the administrative measures of improving the organization of production relations are subjectively always aimed at solving really existing problems, the differences between the goals and the actual results may be significant.

The decisive role of socialist production relations also finds expression in the fact that the objective change of their content in connection with the increase of the productive forces faces society with the need to change accordingly the forms of their state organization. New features in economic relations under

socialism as well cannot arise until the conditions for this arise in production itself. If these conditions have appeared and are developing, the need for the improvement of the forms of the organization of economic relations becomes more and more urgent. Any lag in the improvement and change of the activity of the economic mechanism of the management of economic relations results in harm to society.

A system of economic relations, which presumes and creates the opportunity for the concerted and conscious actions of people in conformity with the laws of its development, is forming in socialist society for the first time in history. According to Marx, the internal bonds of the development of social production as a specific whole act here not as an implicit law, but as "...a law which was arrived at... by collective reason and therefore is dependent on it and which subordinates the process of production... to general control."¹²

However, this by no means changes and diminishes the decisive and primary role of production relations in society and their objective connection with productive forces. The knowledge of this connection, that is, of those objective changes in production relations, which give rise to their interaction with the productive forces, constitutes the basis of the successful actions of people and, consequently, further social progress. In examining the economic activity of the socialist state, one should emphasize its leading role in the matter of changing the organization of the economic life of society in conformity with the needs which arise in the process of the increase of social production. It consists first of all in the maintenance and consolidation of the objective trends of the development of socialist production relations, and it is possible to carry this out effectively only to the extent to which the state takes the existing objective trends into account in its activity.

Socialist production relations are also richer, more complex and more contradictory than the state forms of their organization. The concepts "state socialist ownership of the means of production" and "national socialist ownership of the means of production" are not identical, although in their content they coincide in many ways. National socialist ownership of the means of production is the set of real economic relations between people, which are taken in their direct connection with the specific state of the productive forces. The concept of state socialist ownership of the means of production first of all distinguishes a feature of the state organization of economic relations, establishing only those requirements of their functioning and development which have been consolidated by constitutional law. The differentiation between state socialist ownership and the real, actual content of the production relations represented by it is, in our opinion, of great methodological importance. From this differentiation, in particular, it follows that it is possible and necessary to judge the process on the development of the public ownership of the means of production first of all on the basis of the analysis of the real production relations regardless of the forms of their legal expression. Such an analysis makes it possible to identify the real needs for a change of the forms of the management of the national economy.

The great importance of the progressive initiative of a number of production brigades in implementing collective forms of the organization of labor and wages and of the need to convert to it on the most extensive scale is emphasized in the draft plan of the CPSU Central Committee, "The Main Directions of USSR Economic and

Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990." Such a form ensures the combination of personal and public interest at the level of the primary production collective and solves more effectively the problem of the development of the social activeness of the members of the collective and of their labor and moral education.

The role of the socialist state here is exceptionally great, since progressive initiatives can gain extensive public airing and rapidly receive the necessary dissemination only with the aid of state organs. Moreover, state organs are called upon to compare the content of the initiatives with the tasks of improving the overall organization of the economic life of society and on this basis to specify the further means of its improvement and development.

The practical experience of building socialism and communism showed long ago the need to combine all the measures, which are aimed at the improvement of state management of the national economy, with the development of the initiative of labor collectives in the organization of the economic life of society and socialist production relations. The utmost support of such initiative, its thorough study and generalization as applied to all socialist production are one of the main conditions of the steady increase of the consciousness and activeness of the workers and of the assurance of their direct involvement in state matters. "Soviet democracy," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "can and should serve economic progress better and better, while economic progress was and remains the foundation, the material basis for the more and more complete guarantee of the rights and freedoms of the Soviet people and for the further flourishing of socialist democracy."¹³

The further study of the nature of the economic activity of the socialist state and the determination of the ways and means of improving the economic mechanism are inseparable from the creative and concrete application of Marxist-Leninist doctrine when analyzing the features of the economic development of socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXV s'yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p. 58.
2. See PRAVDA, 22 October 1980.
3. On the history of the question see L. I. Zagaynov, "Sotsialisticheskoye gosudarstvo i zakony ekonomiki" [The Socialist State and the Laws of Economics], Moscow, 1975.
4. See I. Konnik, V. Levin, "The Economic Base and the Political Superstructure in the Mature Socialist Society," KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1974; "On the Economic Activity of the State and the Role of the Superstructure Under Socialism," KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1976; A. I. Verbin, V. Zh. Kelle, "The Base and the Superstructure and the Mechanisms of the Social Activity of People," FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, No 1, 1979; Yu. V. Kachanovskiy, "Problems of the Relationship of the State and the Economy in Socialist Society," FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI, No 6, 1979; S. V. Rogachev, "Dialektika ob'yektivnogo i sub'yektivnogo v ekonomike sotsializma" [The Dialectics of the Objective and the Subjective in the Economics of Socialism], Moscow, 1979, and others.

5. See D. Karimov, "Problems of the Methodology of Social Science," KOMMUNIST, No 11, 1980, pp 121, 122.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 23, p 343.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 36, p 200.
8. Ibid., Vol 38, p 442.
9. PRAVDA, 22 October 1980, p 2.
10. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, Part II, pp 356, 357.
11. See KOMMUNIST, No 10, 1978.
12. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, Part I, p 282.
13. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 7, Moscow, 1979, p 621.

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 25-33

[Article by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Deputy Minister of Culture Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich Chekharin]

[Text] The social progress of Soviet society and the changes of its social structure are taking place in inseparable connection with the processes of economic and political development and are social guidelines in the administrative-organizational, ideological and educational activity of party and other public organizations. "The social structure of society and power," V. I. Lenin noted, "is characterized by changes, without an understanding of which it is impossible to take a step in any area whatsoever of social activity. The questions of the prospects, meaning by this, of course, not simple guesses about what no one knows, but the main trends of economic and social development--the trends, the resultant of which determines the immediate future of the country, the trends which determine the tasks, direction and nature of the activity of any conscious public figure--depends on an understanding of these changes."¹

The draft plan of the CPSU Central Committee for the 26th party congress, "The Main Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990," once again convincingly confirms that the social policy of the party is inseparably connected with its economic policy. The further increase of the efficiency of social production is the basis of the increase of the national well-being and the development of the socialist way of life and of the entire system of social relations.

In revealing the profound changes which have occurred in our country since the adoption of the 1936 Constitution, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that they affected all aspects of social life. "The increasing social homogeneity of Soviet society serves as the common denominator of all these changes."²

The movement toward social homogeneity is being achieved on the basis of the steady economic development of our country, the development of its productive forces, the improvement of production relations and the tightening up of the socialist discipline of distribution according to labor. The main direction of this movement is the further convergence of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the intelligentsia, the city and the countryside with respect to the main social indicators: the conditions and nature of vital activity, the degree of

participation in production management and the solution of sociopolitical and state problems, the level of culture.

Here the cultural development of society includes both the creation of cultural values and their assimilation, their realization in all spheres of human vital activity; accordingly the increase of social homogeneity under the conditions of mature socialism means the further enhancement of the leading role of the working class, the increase of its political and labor activeness and the more and more extensive dissemination among the masses of communist ideology and culture. This process is being stimulated by the increase of the number and the improvement of the qualitative composition of the workers in the population of all the union republics (see Table 1).

Table 1

Average Annual Number of Workers by Union Republics, Thousands*

	1965	1978		1965	1978
USSR.	55933	75869	Lithuanian SSR.	685	990
RSFSR	34671	44443	Moldavian SSR	483	1036
Ukrainian SSR	9746	13737	Latvian SSR	658	824
Belorussian SSR	1798	2738	Kirghiz SSR	439	733
Uzbek SSR	1427	2540	Tajik SSR	296	596
Kazakh SSR.	3100	4111	Armenian SSR.	451	775
Georgian SSR.	811	1306	Turkmen SSR	254	420
Azerbaijan SSR.	706	1148	Estonian SSR.	408	472

*"Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1979 godu" [The USSR National Economy in 1979], Moscow, 1980, p 39.

It should be emphasized that the highest growth rate of the size of the working class is noted in those sectors of social production which have a decisive influence on the formation of its structure and the acceleration of technical progress--machine building and metalworking, electric power engineering, the chemical and petrochemical industries, the metallurgical industry and others. "Our working class today is two-thirds of the population of the country. They are tens of millions of educated, technically competent, politically mature people. Their labor is drawing closer and closer to the labor of engineering and technical personnel. The social activeness of the workers and their participation in the running of the state have increased considerably."³

The consolidation of the social homogeneity of the society of mature socialism is also fundamentally connected with the development of the kolkhoz peasantry--the other main class of Soviet society. The modern peasant is a farmer of a new type. The increase of the productive forces of agriculture and the development of new social relations in the countryside, the increase of the culture and the reorganization of the rural way of life led to a change in the social character and psychology of peasants. "The present kolkhoz farmer was born and grew up on the kolkhoz," Comrade Brezhnev noted, "his psychology has already been formed on a socialist basis. He runs modern equipment. But his educational level and his way of life often differ little from the urban educational level and way of life."⁴

During the period from 1959 to 1975 alone the proportion of inhabitants of the countryside, who were engaged in skilled labor in the sphere of physical production, increased from 18.4 to 32.1 percent, the proportion of workers of unskilled and semi-skilled labor decreased by 26.5 percent.⁵ The sociopolitical and cultural production role of machine operating personnel is systematically increasing in the countryside. As was noted at the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, now one kolkhoz farmer in five is a machine operator. According to the estimates of economists, with the retention of the present growth rate of the power-worker ratio and technical equipment of agriculture to 1990 the proportion of this advanced detachment of the kolkhoz peasantry will come to 70-80 percent.⁶

The gradual transformation of agricultural labor into a version of industrial labor and the increase of its technical equipment are bringing kolkhoz farmers closer to the working class with respect to the nature of labor and the occupational structure, while the bulk of the kolkhoz farmers are drawing closer and closer to the workers of sovkhozes, who are closest to them with respect to working and living conditions. The unified socio-economic and scientific and technical policy being pursued by the party and the government to a considerable extent is promoting the development of this process. The gradual equalization of the cultural and everyday conditions of the urban and rural population is a fundamentally important direction of the formation of the social homogeneity of society. The reorganization of rural population centers is of great importance. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev indicated at the October (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "the effective use of the potentials of agriculture are most directly connected with the solution of the social problems of the countryside. Much has been done here, but even more has to be done. In many regions there are not enough well-appointed housing, personal service and cultural institutions and good roads. This is creating difficulties in the formation of stable labor collectives and is thereby leading to great losses. The problems of the reorganization of the village must be worked on vigorously and thoroughly, seeking for this the necessary resources both on a statewide scale and in the republics, krays and oblasts, at each kolkhoz and sovkhoz."⁷

In the process of building a communist society in the USSR, under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress the size and role of the intelligentsia are also increasing. At present the number of personnel engaged in primarily mental labor is about 40 million.⁸

At the same time the intensive counterprocess of the intellectualization of the labor of workers and peasants is taking place, as a result of which entire strata of workers who are drawing closer to the intelligentsia both with respect to the level of their education and with respect to the nature of labor are forming within these classes. Under present conditions the boundaries between the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia are becoming more and more mobile, for mental labor in production to a greater and greater extent is becoming a part of the content of the labor of the worker and the kolkhoz farmer.

The development of the socialist classes and their systematic convergence with the intelligentsia have a substantial influence on all other elements of the social structure, particularly on such specific groups as the urban and rural, male and female population, young people, retirees, on the interrelations in labor collectives and in families and, finally, on informal contact. Such trends, for example, as the greater and greater involvement of workers in production management, the

increase of the social activeness of women, young people and retirees and the increasing importance of labor collectives not only in production life, but also in political and ideological life are the consequence of this influence.

The movement toward social homogeneity is an objective law, which is appearing to an equal extent in the life of all the Soviet peoples, although depending on the national economic specialization and the socio-economic features of the republics the relative size of the individual classes and social groups in them may be different. This movement is strengthening and intensifying the most important qualitative feature of the socialist nations--the unity of national and international interests, is strengthening even more the social base, on the basis of which the new historical community, the Soviet people--the inviolable alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia with the leading role of the working class and the friendship of all the nations and nationalities of the country--has been formed. Moreover, as L. I. Brezhnev notes, "the convergence of all classes and social groups, the cultivation of the moral and political qualities of the Soviet people and the strengthening of their social unity are taking place in our country on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class. Under the conditions of mature socialism Marxism-Leninism has become the national ideology, the force which determines and stimulates all aspects of the vital activity of the masses, their way of life, the basic principle of which is 'The free development of each is a condition of the free development of all'."⁹

In this thesis lies the methodological key to the study of the problem of social development and culture. Marxist-Leninist ideology is the height of the development of world culture and the ideological heart of socialist culture, therefore, when speaking about the role of Marxism-Leninism in the development of Soviet society and the formation of its social homogeneity, L. I. Brezhnev is emphasizing by this the importance of the cultural and ideological factor as a whole.

Marxist-Leninist ideology and all socialist culture reflect the movement of our society toward social homogeneity. Both have acquired an extremely national character both with respect to content and with respect to the most extensive prevalence among the masses. Let us cite in this connection just one figure. Such a form of the assimilation by workers of the values of spiritual culture as the people's universities is becoming more and more widespread in our country. At present there are about 29,000 of them in the country.

Marxist-Leninist ideology and culture as a whole, it is indicated in the above-cited thesis of L. I. Brezhnev, influence social processes first of all through the vital activity of the masses and their way of life. In this connection such an element of culture as the nature of needs, the correlation between material and spiritual consumption is acquiring especially great social importance. Moreover, the problem of the formation of needs as an aspect of the social development of society has now become one of the main sectors of the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism.

The capitalist system and accordingly bourgeois ideology direct the "man on the street" toward a consumerist and individualistic attitude toward life and absolutize in consumption itself the material and biological aspects. This orientation

has a far-reaching class meaning. A reactionary tendency, the essence of which is the notion of the people as a sluggish, inert, spiritless mass, the direct opposite of the exploitative "elite," which is regarded as the only bearer of the spiritual and moral principles of social life, appears and is realized in the attempts to limit the existence of the masses only to the meeting of material needs.

The favorite technique of bourgeois propaganda is the juggling of the concept of "personal freedom" as a kind of prime element of "western culture." It is appropriate to recall in this connection the reasoning of the well-known western sociologist D. Bell. By the middle of the 20th century capitalism was seeking justification no longer in labor or property, he notes, but in status symbols and achievements in the matter of pleasure. The rising standard of living and moral decadence are now becoming an end in themselves and govern the degree of personal freedom. Thus, a breach is forming in the social system itself. Circumspection, diligence, industry, self-control and dedication to a business career are required in the organization of production and labor. On the other hand, the principle "seize the moment," extravagance, ostentation and pathological pleasure seeking are encouraged in the realm of consumption.¹⁰

The bourgeois way of life promises the bulk of the working class by no means equalization in rights and opportunities (even if we mean only opportunities in the sphere of consumption), but the further aggravation of exploitation, the intensification of the strain of labor and the increase of the threat of unemployment. Here, too, the bourgeoisie is placing greater and greater hopes in so-called mass culture, which means "the atrophy of esthetic and moral feelings," "the ruin of human relations," "blindness with respect to real values," the tendency "to perceive means as goals," "the deadening of the ability to enjoy oneself," "the fear of thinking, reflecting and analyzing one's own 'ego'."¹¹

However, the results of the ideological pressure of the bourgeoisie on the working class of capitalist society clearly do not come up to the expectations which it placed in "mass culture" and other means of the "extrapolation" of the bourgeois way of life. The working class remains the main revolutionary force of modern mankind, the main bearer of the trends which are leading to the triumph of the highest type of human vital activity--the socialist way of life.

The socialist states, in striving for the radical improvement of the life of the popular masses and the systematic increase of the popular well-being, always regarded the solution of this problem not as an end in itself, but only as a prerequisite and condition of the all-round harmonious development of the individual, the development of the talents and abilities of all nations and nationalities and the elevation of their needs. People differ according to their natural abilities and talents, but nearly all of them are talented in one sphere of activity or another, and the task of society is not to divide its citizens into "the chosen" and "the backward," "the elite" and "the mass," but to provide the conditions and to create the stimuli for the development and use of these talents, to place each person in that place in the occupational structure of society, in which he will be of the maximum benefit to society and will obtain the greatest satisfaction from his labor. Genuine democracy begins precisely with this, and not with the number of parties and groups, precisely this, and not the doping of "mass culture" ensures the genuine vital activeness of the individual.

The opponents of Marxism often accuse us of contempt for personal interests and attempt to prove that for Marxists a person is only "an object of society," which controls him and regulates his behavior. Moreover, the question of the substantiation and justification of this regulation, based on the needs of the human subject, ostensibly recedes into the background. There could hardly be anything falsier than such a claim. Precisely man, his interests and needs are the ultimate goal of both the socialist revolution and the building of communism. In the Marxist-Leninist interpretation the person of socialist society is always an individual, but the opposition of personal interests to public interests is alien to him, he cannot arrange his own personal well-being by exploiting, oppressing or deceiving other people. Therefore the respect of the individual is integrally combined in our way of life with collectivism and internationalism and presumes irreconcilability toward all forms of the violation of public interests. The individual originality and uniqueness of a person are manifested precisely in contact with society, in relations of a person with a person and in collective labor.

The unity of personal and public interests, which is inherent in socialism, enlarges immeasurably the group of needs of the individual and forms a type of individual, who cares about everything and who is ready to agree to self-restraint and even self-sacrifice for the sake of the achievement of lofty, ideal goals. As the material and economic potentials of our society increase, this most important trait of the socialist way of life is undergoing greater and greater development. At the same time "it is necessary, however, for the increase of the material potentials to be constantly accompanied by an increase of the ideological, moral and cultural level of the people. Otherwise we may have recurrences of narrow-minded, petty bourgeois psychology."¹²

The dynamic nature of the socio-economic, scientific, technical, cultural and ideological processes taking place at the present stage is now also raising with particular urgency the problem of the culture of production and management, which in turn is inseparably connected with other components of socialist culture: the ideological, political and moral maturity of personnel, their general outlook, the sense of responsibility and good discipline. "It must be frankly admitted," L. I. Brezhnev said at the October (1980) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "that it has so far not been possible to raise the mechanism of management and planning, the methods of management and executive discipline to the level of present requirements. This is complicating the turn toward efficiency and the changeover of the national economy to the path of intensive development. In this lies one of the important causes of the nonfulfillment of the plans for a number of items, the shortcomings and bottlenecks in the national economy."¹³ Hence the task of coordinating cultural and educational work more closely with socio-economic tasks and of thinking about the effectiveness of certain measures or others in the sense of the overall development of the individual and the increase of the quality of his labor.

Under the conditions of mature socialism the overall administrative potential of the state has increased considerably, which resulted on the broad historical plane first of all from the fact that the mature socialist society is a society in which, using the definition of F. Engels, "the objective, alien forces, which had dominated thus far over history, come under the control of the people themselves" and in which the people began "to create history quite consciously by themselves...."¹⁴ The party program and the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses set for the Soviet state

the task of creating new opportunities for solving the main socio-economic problems. "This pertains first of all /to the further increase of the well-being of the Soviet people, the improvement of the conditions of their labor and daily life, the significant progress of public health, education, culture--to everything that is conducive to the formation of the new man, the comprehensive development of the individual and the improvement of the socialist way of life/ [in boldface]."15 All this explains why the party is waging so consistently the campaign for the increase of the culture of the work of the state machinery and against bureaucracy, callousness and arrogance.

One of the most important indicators of the culture of society is the degree of participation of the workers in the management of production and social development. "The working person in socialist society is not a mechanical performer of certain operations or others, certain instructions or others. Not only the immediate result of his own efforts, but also their place and significance in the overall labor process are important to him. The aspiration and opportunity to make his own personal contribution to the common cause serve as an enormous stimulus of labor activity, teach one to think on a large scale, in state terms, and to perceive general concerns as one's own concerns."16 Socialist democracy is a democracy of a higher type, a democracy not in words, but in deed, because it rests on the great activeness and consciousness of the masses, on their certain and ever increasing participation in all spheres of social life.

The enhancement of the role of sociocultural factors in the development of the socialist economy and state system and the task of improving the moral and psychological relations in labor collectives, which was advanced by the 25th party congress, are also increasing substantially the urgency of such an aspect of the development of our society as the increase of the cultural level of each person. We have made a gigantic advance in the area of the education of the workers. Both general statistics and sociological studies of individual groups of the population attest to this (see Table 2).

Table 2

Breakdown of Young Workers in 1936 and 1972 by Level of General Education*

Year	Average level of education (in grades)	Number of grades completed, percent								
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1936	4.9	5.9	8.8	23.4	11.3	11.3	34.9	2.8	1.0	--
1972	9.4	--	--	--	0.1	0.1	1.8	26.1	5.6	66.3

* See "Sotsial'nyy oblik rabochey molodezhi. Po materialam sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy 1936 i 1972 gg." [The Social Makeup of Young Workers. From the Materials of Sociological Studies of 1936 and 1972], Moscow, 1980, p 207.

Thus, two-thirds of the young workers have a complete secondary education. But culture, as is known, does not reduce to education, but is a complex phenomenon.

In this connection it should be emphasized that the demand advanced by the 25th CPSU Congress for a comprehensive approach to education (and education is to a

considerable extent also the process of the acquisition by the masses of socialist culture) and the resolute struggle against vestiges of the past presume the concentration of the forces of all educational and cultural institutions for the purpose of introducing among the masses socialist culture in the broadest interpretation of this term. Crime is the most undisguised and militant antipode of the ideology, cultural values and way of life of socialist society. It is well known that V. I. Lenin called swindlers and spongers "parasites," "the main enemies of socialism," who "...must be dealt with, upon the slightest infraction of the rules and laws of socialist society, mercilessly...."¹⁷ In developing Lenin's approach to the problem of combatting crime, the party is systematically broadening the social preventive measures and improving the methods of persuading and reeducating people who violate Soviet laws. But all of this by no means implies the rejection of measures of duress with respect to those who abuse the humaneness of our society and try to take advantage of the fact that they, they say, are being or have been poorly raised. Now everyone has the most extensive opportunities for training and work and is provided with material and cultural wealth, and under these conditions society not only is obligated to educate, but also has the right to demand of its members greater attention to self-instruction, self-control and greater responsibility for their own behavior.

It should be said that in some works on questions of communist education the thoroughly harmonious development of the personality of a person is set as its immediate goal in all circumstances. No one calls into question the pursuit of this goal as an ultimate and integral goal of educational work. But under the specific conditions of individual families, schools and labor collectives it is necessary to approach the educational process, if we can express ourselves here in this way, empirically. Education is a gradual movement toward the main ultimate goal, and it does not permit the "skipping" of individual stages. In other words, it is impossible to raise the question of the comprehensive development of the individual, if this individual is still burdened by a large number of vestiges, if the habits of basic discipline, decency and honesty have still not formed in him. The general means of increasing the effectiveness of educational work--the comprehensive approach to it, which was outlined by the 25th party congress, implies first of all the specificness of the goals of education at each stage and the consideration of the peculiarities and state of the object of educational influence.

On the other hand, the comprehensiveness of education and the unity of its ideological, political, labor, moral and other aspects, apparently, imply not only the integration, but also the differentiation of the educational process, the division--within certain limits--of the functions of educational institutions. It has been demonstrated, for example, that the emotional development of the individual takes place most intensively during the preschool years, while a person reacts most strongly to moral problems in youth, when the school becomes the "monopolist" of education. Therefore a love of labor and the emotional and moral attitude toward it must begin to be formed as early as possible.

The scientific and technical revolution, urbanization and migrations of the population (and young people predominate among migrants) substantially increase the importance of such a task of social and cultural planning as the assurance of social control over the informal contact of people, which can be achieved only by the radical improvement of the organization of their leisure, the improvement of the

operation of club and sports institutions. It is well known that at present many clubs are in fact performing the functions of movie theaters, which, of course, is decreasing the interest in the club form of activity among the population. There is still not enough enterprising, spontaneous participation of workers in the structure of the creative measures of the modern club.

Based on the need to ensure the further social progress of society and to implement an extensive program on increasing the popular well-being, in the document of the CPSU Central Committee for the 26th party congress along with the other main tasks of the economic and social development of the country the task is set "to broaden the opportunities for the harmonious spiritual life of the people and the access of the entire population to cultural values, to ensure the further development of education and culture, to step up moral education, to develop a communist attitude toward labor and the public sector."

The enhancement of the role of culture in the life of our society requires the improvement of the scientific management, planning and control of the processes of its development and dissemination. This problem is becoming especially urgent in light of the ideas and directives which are contained in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality," as well as in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work."

Owing to the complexity and extreme specificity of culture, the diversity and ambiguity of its dynamic relations with the most different social factors the special elaboration of the theoretical, methodological and procedural aspects of this important problem is necessary. On the theoretical level these aspects are: the interpretation and definition of culture as an object of planning and management; the identification of the main trends of the development of culture and their comprehensive coverage; the interpretation of the development of artistic culture on the level of the achievement of the program goal of the formation of the Soviet man as a comprehensively developed individual.

The scientific and technical revolution is making significant amendments in the traditional ideas about culture and its interrelations with the vital activity of society. If culture, especially artistic culture, truly has a greater and greater influence on the social, cognitive and creative activity of a person, in addition to its role in the preservation and passing on of social experience it is a substantial stimulus of the development of science, production and other forms of practical social activity. The influence of cultural values on a person and on his activity is extremely diverse, but the scientific information in this area for the present is uncoordinated and hypothetical. In particular, science does not yet have today systematic and adequately sound knowledge of the laws of the process of acquainting different groups of the population with works of art.

At the present stage of the development of Soviet society the increase of the social role of culture is becoming a most important objective law. However, the further familiarization of the workers with cultural values cannot be limited to the extensive development of this process. Not only the scope of the contacts of a person with the world of spiritual culture, but also the effectiveness of these contacts

are acquiring greater and greater importance. Therefore the study of the objective laws of the assimilation and realization of cultural values for the purpose of organizing the most feasible and effective system of the satisfaction and formation of the spiritual needs of the individual of the mature socialist society is now becoming the main area of scientific studies of culture.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 20, p 186.
2. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [By the Leninist Course], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, pp 374, 375.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p 375.
5. See V. I. Staroverov, "Sotsial'naya struktura sel'skogo naseleniya SSSR na etape razvitiya sotsializma" [The Social Structure of the Rural Population of the USSR at the Stage of Mature Socialism], Moscow, 1978, p 326.
6. "Problemy preodoleniya sotsial'no-ekonomicheskikh razlichiy mezhduraznitsami gorodov i derevny" [The Problems of Overcoming the Socio-Economic Differences Between the City and the Countryside], Moscow, 1976, p 243.
7. PRAVDA, 21 October 1980.
8. "SSSR v tsifrakh v 1979 godu" [The USSR in Figures in 1979], Moscow, 1980, p 17.
9. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 3, Moscow, 1972, p 275.
10. See D. Bell, "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society," New York, 1976, p 478.
11. See K. Lorenz, "Les huit pechs capitaux de notre civilisation," Paris, 1973, pp 44, 54, 68, 164.
12. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], pp 77, 78.
13. PRAVDA, 21 October 1980.
14. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 295.
15. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS," p 40.
16. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom," Vol 6, p 330.
17. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 201.

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CSO: 1806

THE FAMILY AS A FACTOR OF CHANGE OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 34-42

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[Text] The assurance of the reproduction of the population holds a special place among the social functions of the family. The influence of social factors on demographic processes is exercised through this function. The draft plan of the CPSU Central Committee, "The Main Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990," advanced as one of the main tasks: "To pursue an effective demographic policy, to promote the strengthening of the family as the most important unit of socialist society."

The All-Union Census made as of 17 January 1979 counted 66.3 million families. Since the preceding census their number increased by 13 percent, which is 1.5-fold greater than the percentage increase of the size of the population of the country. The growth rate of the number of married couples was even greater. The number of small families--consisting of two, three and four people--increased the most rapidly during this period: by respectively 32, 25 and 8 percent. On the other hand, there were fewer families containing five or more members. The average size of the family, thus, decreased from 3.7 to 3.5, and this process took place more actively in rural areas than in cities. The number of single people and people living apart from the family also increased. A considerable differentiation of the average size and distribution of families, as well as of the rate of their change by regions of the country has been maintained against the background of the overall trend (see Table 1).

The existing differences stem from the uniqueness of the historical development of peoples. The shift to a low birth rate did not accompany everywhere the general decrease of the previously high death rate. It should be noted that the high birth rate and possession of many children among the indigenous peoples of Central Asia and some autonomous republics of the RSFSR are not some exclusive national feature and were characteristic in the past of all the peoples of our country. In the Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek SSR's in the past 20 years the families on the average have increased (the proportion of large families here is now more than 40 percent of their total number), which is connected primarily with the consistently high birth rate and the preservation of the cultural and everyday traditions of the large extended family.

Table 1

Family Size in the Union Republics of the USSR (From Census Data)

Union republics*	Average family size			Percentage of families in 1979 consisting of		
	1959	1970	1979	2 and 3 people	4 and 5 people	6 and more people
Armenian SSR. . . .	4.8	5.0	4.7	26	44	30
Tajik SSR	4.7	5.4	5.7	27	27	46
Uzbek SSR	4.6	5.3	5.5	28	29	43
Turkmen SSR	4.5	5.2	5.5	29	28	43
Azerbaijan SSR. . .	4.5	5.1	5.1	30	32	38
Kirghiz SSR	4.2	4.6	4.6	39	32	29
Kazakh SSR.	4.1	4.3	4.1	46	36	18
Georgian SSR. . . .	4.0	4.1	4.0	41	42	17
Moldavian SSR . . .	3.8	3.8	3.4	59	33	8
Belorussian SSR . .	3.7	3.6	3.3	61	34	5
RSFSR	3.6	3.5	3.3	63	32	5
Lithuanian SSR. . .	3.6	3.4	3.3	61	34	5
Ukrainian SSR . . .	3.5	3.4	3.3	62	33	5
Latvian SSR	3.2	3.2	3.1	68	29	3
Estonian SSR. . . .	3.1	3.1	3.1	67	30	3
USSR on the average	3.7	3.7	3.5	59	32	9

* Arranged in descending order of the average family size in 1959.

In Transcaucasia, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan the situation is relatively stable--the size of the family is not undergoing significant changes. Some fluctuations, apparently, are connected here with the heterogeneity of the ethnic composition of the population and migratory processes. In the RSFSR and the union republics of the European part of the country a distinct tendency for families to decrease is found (the exception is Estonia, where their size has practically stabilized). The proportion of small families comes to 60 percent and more.

Thus, it is possible to distinguish two types of reproduction of the population, the differences between which in many ways stem from the historically established features of the demographic structures and processes in different parts of the country. Since the overall demographic situation in the country is determined mainly by the situation in the RSFSR and the union republics of the European part of the country, below it will be a matter of what characterizes the development of the family precisely in these regions.

On the basis of the research of recent years the tendency for the size of the family to decrease can be explained by the influence of the following basic factors: a) the considerable increase of the number of young marriages and, consequently, the number of families which are at the initial phase of the demographic cycle; b) the further spread of nuclear families; the increase of the standard of living, particularly the improvement of housing conditions, plays a significant role here; c) the increase of the number of broken families--primarily of women with children--as a result of divorce or the death of one of the spouses (more often

the husband); d) the decline of the birth rate and the prevalence of families with few children.

Let us examine each of the factors in more detail. The increase of the number of young marriages is explained by two circumstances. First of all it is necessary to indicate the structural shifts connected with the consequences of the war and the postwar compensatory period. The people born in 1940-1950, when the birth rate was low, were 10 years ago at a young marriageable age--from 20 to 30 years old. Now those born in 1950-1960, when the level of the birth rate was comparatively high, have reached this age. Along with a slight increase of the marriage rate among young people the displacement of generations had the result that the number of people under the age of 30 who were married during the period between the last two censuses increased by more than one-half. During the next decade, apparently, a slight decline of the increase of young marriages should be anticipated, since the generations of those born in the 1960's and 1970's, when a decline of the birth rate was observed, will become of the age of maximum marriageability.

The second circumstance is the "rejuvenation" of marriage. Women born in the late 1940's and early 1950's married earlier than those born before the war (see Table 2). This process is not characteristic of all the regions of the country. In the republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia a shift in the direction of later marriage is noted, which is probably connected not only with the overcoming of old traditions, but also with the extensive dissemination of secondary and higher education.

Table 2

Dynamics of the Age of Marriage by Generations of Women

Years of birth of women	Proportion of those married, percent		Years of birth of women	Proportion of those married, percent	
	by age 22	by age 24		by age 22	by age 24
1931-1935	40.1	62.5	1946-1948	54.4	74.9
1936-1940	50.2	71.2	1949-1951	57.7	76.1
1941-1945	55.2	74.2	1952-1954	58.1	76.0

From the data of a sample survey of the birth rate of 1978.

The increase of the number of early marriages also stems from several other circumstances. The lack of a partner of the appropriate age owing to sharp differences of the birth rate was previously one of the reasons for later marriage. Now the effect of this factor is weakening: in the age groups in which the bulk of the marriages are contracted the ratio of the numbers of the sexes has become almost identical. In recent years less importance has been attached to the attainment of economic independence by young people who are marrying. They often count on the assistance of parents, which is given willingly, especially if an only son or an only daughter is getting married. The increased mobility of young people, which is connected with the development of the educational system, mass departures to construction projects and so on, is also conducive to early marriages. Scientists have expressed the assumption that the shortening of the term of military service also influenced the decrease of the age of marriage of men.

What are the demographic and social consequences of the decrease of the age of marriage?

Studies show that young couples are striving to have their first child at an earlier and earlier period of married life. R. I. Sifman has established a tendency for the protogenetic interval, that is, the interval between marriage and the appearance of the first child, to become shorter.¹ It is not clear, however, whether this phenomenon is a real trend of change of reproductive behavior, or whether it is explained by an increase of the proportion of marriages stimulated by premarital conception. Nevertheless, under the conditions of the extensive dissemination of birth control (and not only of the number of children, but also of the time of their appearance) the age of marriage has ceased to be a factor which influences the birth rate. The relatively small groups of the population which do not practice birth control are the exception. As a whole the differences in the number of children which result from the age of marriage still remain, as a result of which the "rejuvenation" of marriage has in part counteracted the decline of the birth rate in recent years, while in those regions where young people married later it promoted this decline.² However, the importance of this factor is decreasing, and it should not be overestimated.

The influence of the time of the formation of a family on its subsequent stability is of the greatest interest. According to the data of special demographic studies, marriages contracted at both an early and middle age are the least stable. In the former case the lack of social maturity and economic dependence have an effect, while in the latter the difficulty of mutual adaptation has an effect, since the character of people has already formed, and agreement in conjugal relations is reached with greater and greater difficulty. French demographers (P. Festi) and (F. Priu) indicate the lower stability of the marriages of women who married before the age of 20. It is noted that the frequency of divorce is minimal among those who began married life at the age of the greatest likelihood of marriage--about the age of 25, but later increases again. The remarriages of widows and especially of divorcees are less durable than of women who marry at the same age, but for the first time. The age difference between the spouses also has a definite influence on the stability of the marriage.³

Demographic studies in our country reveal a similar dependence. According to the calculations of G. A. Bondarskaya, according to the data of a sample survey of the birth rate in families of workers, employees and kolkhoz farmers (October 1978), which covered about 300,000 families throughout the country, the marriages contracted by women at a very young age were the least stable (see Table 3). Marriages contracted by people over the age of 25, and especially over 30, are also characterized by a low stability. The gradual increase of the instability of young marriages from cohort to cohort attracts attention. With a slight increase of the number of divorces in subsequent cohorts the differences in the proportion of the broken marriages of women, who married at a young, mean and older age, remain quite pronounced. Unfortunately, the causes of this trend and its demographic impact have still be inadequately studied. It can only be presumed that the instability of young marriages to a considerable extent stems from the inadequate social maturity of the young couples and their lack of preparation for family life. Indeed, "...the neglect of one of the important areas of the education of young people was just as harmful an extreme as the exaggerated attention to 'sex questions'."⁴ In

the formation of unstable families the processes of urbanization, which are embracing more and more extensive strata of the population, and the change connected with them in the value orientations and aims in the matrimonial sphere, early sexual experience and the weakening of social control over the premarital behavior of young people are playing a decisive role.

Table 3

Dependence of the Frequency of Divorces on the Age of Women at Marriage			
Age of women at marriage	Proportion of marriages (percent) dissolved during first 10 years of marriage by women married		
	in 1950-1954	in 1955-1959	in 1960-1964
Up to age 20.	7.8	9.3	12.0
20-22	7.1	7.8	9.8
23-24	6.5	6.7	9.3
25-29	7.7	7.2	10.1
30 and older.	8.9	10.2	13.6

Early marriage is recommended at times as a radical means of increasing the birth rate: in this case, ostensibly, there is more time to have children. Scientific studies do not confirm such an opinion. The time of the formation of the family is determining less and less the number of children in it. The decrease of the age of marriage, which has even been set down in legislation, will not eliminate the contradictions between early physical maturation and the late achievement by young people of social maturity. Later marriage with the extensive and thorough preparation of young people for it, in our opinion, would promote an increase of the stability of families.

The decrease of the average size of the family is also connected with the prevalence of broken families, which stems primarily from divorces. The number of divorces in 1977 was 898,000, in 1978--911,000, in 1979--951,000. Their frequency is also increasing. However, the latter indicator quite often is calculated incorrectly, by comparing the number of marriages dissolved with the number of marriages contracted in the same year. For example, for 1978 this ratio was 1:3, and on the basis of this the conclusion was drawn that a third of the marriages break up, and immediately after being contracted. It is impossible to agree with such an assertion, since marriages of the same year account for only 4 percent of the annual number of divorces, the overwhelming majority of dissolved marriages existed a longer time. It is more correct, as when estimating the birth rate or the marriage rate, to compare the number of divorces of a given year with the number of all marriages which could have been dissolved, that is, with the number of existing married couples. The corresponding calculations show that the number of divorces a year per 1,000 married couples in 1938-1939 was 4.8, in 1958-1959--5.3, in 1969-1970--11.5, in 1978-1979--15.2.⁵

Thus, in recent years slightly more than 1.5 percent of the married couples have broken up annually. Even in the age groups of the highest frequency of divorces (ages 20-30 for women and ages 20-40 for men) in 1978-1979 only 2.5-3 percent of the couples divorced. Given the constant value of this overall indicator and the invariability of the annual number of marriages, one-third of the families now formed would break up only after 21-22 years; in other words, there are no grounds to infer a crisis of the family or the degradation of marriage.

Nevertheless, the increase of the number of divorces is a reality which cannot but cause anxiety. Some new trends are especially disturbing. Divorces are traditionally considered a phenomenon of urban life. Their increase is usually ascribed to the influence of urbanization, under the effect of which the norms and standards of behavior, the forms and nature of family and extrafamilial contact change and social control is weakened. At present the situation is changing. Rural inhabitants account for approximately one-sixth of the annual number of divorces. Taking into account that they make up a third of the population of the country, the frequency of divorces in the countryside is indeed less. But during the past decade the average annual growth rate of divorces here has been considerably higher than in the cities, particularly among young people. The decrease of the stability of the rural family along with the outflow of young people from the countryside to the city (are these phenomena not connected?) and the specific age and marital structures of the rural population are adversely affecting the demographic situation in rural areas. Apparently, the urban norms of marital behavior are also being spread among rural inhabitants, especially in the zones of urban agglomerations, which are adjacent to large cities.

The changes in the social status of woman and her economic independence also had a considerable influence on the increase of the number of divorces. Moreover, "the increase of the sociopolitical activeness of women and the achievements of the socialist state in the matter of eradicating illiteracy and the spiritual backwardness of the population inevitably weakened the forces which ensured the durability and stability of the old family.... The forces, which were called upon to consolidate the new socialist family, were far from always and far from everywhere able to fill the 'vacuum' which was created as a result of the destruction or the retreat of the old."⁶ In the opinion of S. I. Golod, "the increase of the frequency of the dissolution of marriages is closely accompanied by profound changes in the monogamous type of family and, in particular, by the increase of the demands of the spouses on the individual attributes of each other."⁷

In directing attention to the increase of the number of divorces, another cause of the cessation of a marriage--the death of one of the spouses--is often overlooked. Meanwhile it plays a slightly lesser role in the disturbance of the stability of the family. An idea of the scale of widowhood (for the lack of direct data) can be obtained by comparing the increase of the number of married couples between the two censuses with the difference in the numbers of the marriages contracted and dissolved during this period, if we assume that the degree of difference between the actual marriages (which are taken into account during the census) and the registered marriages (on which the current registration of marriages and divorces at the civil registry bureaus gives information) has not changed. From 1970 to 1979 the number of married couples in the country increased by 8.4 million, and 23.2 million marriages were contracted and 6.8 million were dissolved; if not for the death of spouses, the number of married couples would have increased by 16.4 million. Consequently, during this period 8.0 million people were widowed, or on the average 16 out of every 1,000 marriage terminated annually with the death of one of the spouses (rarely both). For the same reason from 1959 to 1970 only 18 marriages per 1,000 ceased annually. Calculations show that the ratio of the instances of widowing of men to widowing of women is 1:2.

From the point of view of the reproduction of the population the breakdown of families as a result of divorce or the death of one of the spouses is to a considerable extent an "irrevocable loss." The ending of marriages as a whole is not offset by remarriages. Although the frequency of the contracting of the latter in some age groups is even higher than the frequency of first marriages, it differs greatly among men and women. Divorced men remarry much more often than divorced women.⁸ In Moscow, for example, in 1978-1979 the likelihood of the remarriage of a divorced man was twice as great as that of a divorced woman. Among widowers the chances of remarriage are several times greater than among widows. According to the calculations of A. B. Sinel'nikov, among widowed and divorced people only one-third of the men and one-fifth of the women marry again.⁹

The ending of a marriage does direct demographic harm: according to rough estimates owing to this 15 percent fewer children are born than if all marriages were preserved until the end of the childbearing period of the woman. According to the same estimates, approximately one-fourth of all those born may lose one or both parents before reaching the age of 16. The adverse consequences of raising children in a broken family are well known. Women forced to raise children without a father also experience great difficulties.

The suggestions on the operation of a dating service are oriented primarily toward those who are not yet married and want to form a family. Such assistance is of no less importance for those who have suffered a reverse in their first marriage. It is especially necessary for divorced and single mothers with children, whose opportunities for contact outside the home are extremely limited. At any rate a necessary condition for the organization of such a service is a carefully study of the sociodemographic features of the groups of the population which need it. The encouragement and promotion of remarriage are, obviously, a definite reserve of the increase of the birth rate. According to the data of Hungarian studies, for example, the number of children born in the new marriage is slightly less than in the first marriage, while as a whole remarriages substantially increase the overall level of the birth rate.¹⁰ If we eliminate the influence of such factors as the later age of remarriage and its shorter duration, it turns out that it is possible to anticipate in it even more children than in the first marriage. According to the data of a study conducted by the Department of Demography of the Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Central Statistical Administration under the direction of L. Ye. Darskiy in Moscow, among women who married for the first time in 1965-1969 and are in the first marriage 18 percent intend to have a second child, while among remarried women 34 percent intend to.

Thus, on the one hand, the prevention of the premature ending of a marriage and, on the other, assistance in the forming of a new family for those whose marriage broke up for one reason or another are important directions of demographic or, more correctly, family policy.

Finally, the decline of the birth rate is one of the main factors for the decrease of the size of the family. Owing to abundant empirical material and the use of modern methods of demographic analysis (particularly the cohort method) it was possible to identify the present trends of the birth rate, which have not been distorted by the influence of transient features of the demographic situation and factors of the demographic structure.

Contrary to prevailing opinion, the decline of the birth rate is characteristic not only of recent years. Caused by the social changes which occurred in the country, this process began back in the 1930's,¹¹ gradually encompassing broader and broader strata of the population. The decline of the birth rate also reflects changes of the social functions and place of the family in the system of social values. The urban family has lost its function of organizing production, remaining primarily a consumer unit and sharing the function of raising children with public institutions. To be sure, the extensive involvement of women in social production, which is not always backed by the effective operation of children's institutions and the personal service system, had a great influence on the birth rate. The reorientation of public consciousness with respect to the status of women is unquestionably a progressive phenomenon. However, the negative attitude toward the old family also affected the attitude toward the family in general. As a result of the reorganization of the system of social values the family and the raising of children at times are regarded as an obstacle to the participation of women in the public sector. The extreme overburdening of the working mother and the shortcomings in the organization of personal service are impelling the woman to limit the number of children. The effectiveness of demographic policy in many ways will depend on the restoration of the prestige of the family and work on the raising of children, the social recognition of the importance of motherhood and fatherhood.

The tendency for the birth rate to decline is gradually subsiding, stabilizing at a low level. The differences not only in the number of children between sociodemographic groups of the population, but also in the reproductive intentions of young people are diminishing. There is, for example, no special urban or rural level of the birth rate: a large number of transitional states depending on the type and size of the settlement, the cultural and everyday conditions and the structure of needs have been noted. In large cities the simple family with one or two children has in practice become the predominant type of family: according to the data of studies, not more than 10 percent of the women intend to have three or more children. The differences in the birth rate which were caused by differences in the level of education, which recently was considered one of the main differentiating factors, are gradually decreasing.

In recent years the ethnic features of demographic processes, particularly the birth rate and marriage rate, have been studied intensively. Ethnodemographic studies have shown that the differences in the level of the birth rate among ethnic groups are still preserved. However, among the indigenous peoples of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan the decline of the birth rate is continuing, while in the Central Asian union republics its level still remains high. True, here a change of the reproductive intentions in the direction of the decrease of the ideal number of children in the family is already being observed among young people.

The nuclearization of the family, which is characteristic of current demographic development, takes the form first of all of the aspiration for the separate dwelling of the old and young generations. The features of this process in socialist society, its motive forces and social consequences were examined in detail by A. G. Kharchev, who also emphasizes the link of the nuclearization of the family with the decline of the birth rate.¹³ Apparently, this link is ambiguous: the decline of the birth rate in some instances promotes, and in others hampers nuclearization. An only child usually remains longer in the family of his parents, and the

likelihood of the breakdown of the latter after his marriage is less than in families with many children. The increase of the life span and the rejuvenation of marriage lengthen the period of coexistence of generations--parents and children. However, we do not yet know how this influences the nuclearization of the family and its life cycle in general.

Demographic and sociological studies of the past decade have considerably extended the interpretation of the socio-economic factors of the birth rate. The shift from a vulgar interpretation of the dependence of the birth rate and well-being to attempts to explain the complex social mechanism of such a relationship was perhaps the most significant. The inclusion in the chain of cause-effect relations of the birth rate with living conditions of the factor of social consciousness was very fruitful: it not only made it possible to understand that the appearance of a child in a family is determined by an entire set of living conditions, which is interpreted in the consciousness of parents, but also prompted the study of the need for children and its transformation during socio-economic development, as well as the place of children in the system of social values.¹⁴ The existence among a significant portion of the population of precise aims at having few children, which stem from the change in the structure of needs, on the one hand, and the existence of a certain gap between the desires of couples to increase the family and their intentions, on the other, were found. These findings are of great importance not only for understanding the mechanism of the determination of the birth rate, but also for elaborating practical measures in the area of demographic policy. "The reproductive behavior of specific families is the result of the complex interaction between the needs for children and the conditions under which the family lives.... Since the conditions can be changed at the cost of significantly fewer expenditures and efforts than the needs, the demographic policy should be oriented first of all so that the existing need for children when being realized would not be limited and would not be suppressed by the conditions of the formation and development of the family community."¹⁵

Since it is the family which carries out the reproduction of the population, its strengthening is one of the most important levers of the demographic policy, which is, in essence, a family policy. The choice of correct guidelines in this area involves, in our opinion, a scientifically sound forecast, that is, the development of a model of the family of the future. A forecast, which is based on the extrapolation of the formed trends and which would make it possible to evaluate the degree of proximity to the outlined ideal, is also necessary.

It should be noted that the study of the development of the family, marriage and the dependence between their stability and the reproduction of the population lags greatly behind the needs of social control and is being carried out by individual researchers or small groups, often without the proper procedural basis. This does not conform at all with either the complexity of the subject or its significance for the development of society and the individual. The establishment of a scientific research center for the study of the family, perhaps on the basis of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is desirable for the purpose of the more thorough study of the trends of the development of the family and the changes taking place in it. The integration of statistical and sociological information on the family, the development of the statistics of the family within social statistics and the regular study of the problems of the family during censuses and in representative sample surveys are also of great importance.

FOOTNOTES

1. See R. I. Sifman, "Dinamika rozhdayemosti v SSSR" [Dynamics of the Birth Rate in the USSR], Moscow, 1974, pp 147-149.
2. See G. A. Bondarskaya, I. P. Il'ina, "Ethnic Differentiation of the Marriage Rate of Women in the USSR. The Demographic Aspect," "Demograficheskoye razvitiye sem'i" [Demographic Development of the Family], Moscow, 1979, pp 7-38.
3. See (P. Festi) and (F. Priu), "Divorces in Europe After 1950," "Razvod. Demograficheskii aspekt" [Divorce. The Demographic Aspect], Moscow, 1979, pp 35-42.
4. A. G. Kharchev, "Brak i sem'ya v SSSR" [Marriage and the Family in the USSR], Moscow, 1979, p 312.
5. This is slightly higher than in the European countries with the highest level of the divorce rate. According to the latest UN data, the number of divorces per 1,000 married couples was: in England and Wales (1973)--8.5; Hungary (1975)--9.3; the GDR (1975)--10.0; Denmark (1973)--10.5; Sweden (1975)--14.1. See "U.N. Demographic Yearbook, 1976," New York, 1977, pp 674-677.
6. A. G. Kharchev, M. S. Matskovskiy, "Sovremennaya sem'ya i yeye problemy" [The Modern Family and Its Problems], Moscow, 1978, p 54.
7. S. I. Golod, "The Sociopsychological and Moral Values of the Family," "Molodaya sem'ya" [The Young Family], Moscow, 1977, p 56.
8. Some of the divorces on the initiative of men were stimulated, apparently, by the need to legalize the actually existing relations with another woman.
9. See A. B. Sinel'nikov, "The Duration of the Existence of Modern Marriages," "Vozobnovleniye pokoleniy nashey strany" [The Regeneration of the Generations of Our Country], Moscow, 1979, p 104.
10. See (I. Hoos), "The Influence of the Stability of Marriage on the Conjugal Birth Rate," "Razvod. Demograficheskii aspekt," p 104.
11. See R. I. Sifman, "Dinamika rozhdayemosti v SSSR."
12. See G. A. Bondarskaya, "Rozhdayemost' v SSSR (Etnodemograficheskii aspekt)" [The Birth Rate in the USSR (The Ethnodemographic Aspect)], Moscow, 1978; G. A. Bondarskaya, I. P. Il'ina, "Ethnic Differentiation of the Marriage Rate of Women in the USSR. The Demographic Aspect," "Demograficheskoye razvitiye sem'i," Moscow, 1979; V. I. Kozlov, "Etnicheskaya demografiya" [Ethnic Demography], Moscow, 1977.
13. See A. G. Kharchev, "Brak i sem'ya v SSSR," p 247.
14. The turn to this aspect of demographic processes promoted the cooperation of sociologists and demographers, the fruitfulness of which is attested by the appearance of a number of interesting works.
15. A. G. Kharchev, M. S. Matskovskiy, "Sovremennaya sem'ya i yeye problemy," p 191.

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CSO: 1806

ON THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 43-48

/Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Nariman Abdrakhmanovich Aitov, chief of the Chair of Scientific Communism of the Ufa Institute of Aviation imeni Ordzhonikidze/

/Text/ The present level of development of Soviet society presumes the qualitative improvement of the system of management of the national economy and the consistent assurance of the unity of economic and social planning. Plans of the social development of industrial enterprises, cities and regions have become widespread since the late 1960's and have been inseparably connected with the development of sociological research in the country. The program of the social development and increase of the standard of living of the people became one of the sections of "The Main Directions of USSR National Economic Development for 1976-1980," which was adopted by the 25th party congress.¹

Social scientists are faced with the task of the detailed elaboration of the conceptual system, the methods and techniques of social planning and first of all the precise definition of this concept. In our literature there still occurs at times the point of view, according to which the concept "social development" is limited to the increase of the well-being and the improvement of the living conditions of people. But, first, the increase of the well-being has also become a part of economic planning, and, if we recognize the indicated approach to be correct, social planning is only a new term for designating a phenomenon which has been known for a long time. Second, the social policy of our party since the day of its founding has been aimed not only at meeting today's needs of the workers, but first of all at achieving long-range goals.

Another form of the narrowing of the concepts "social development" and "social planning" is encountered, when they are limited to questions of the obliteration of social class differences, breaking away from the entire set of problems of the development of socialist social relations into communist social relations.

1. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" /Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, pp 215-223.

Thus, the question of the essence of social planning is not only an academic, but also a practical problem. Its solution determines the real content of plans, the nature and directions of planning activity.

Social processes are first of all the processes of the development of socialist social relations into communist social relations, during which the social system undergoes qualitative changes (let us call them social processes of the first kind). In real life, of course, it is impossible to completely separate economic planning from social planning. It is generally acknowledged that for the successful accomplishment of the latter it is necessary to achieve a certain level of development of physical production. The existence of the reverse dependence: the effectiveness of economic planning in many ways is determined by the achievements of social development, which, however, is often underestimated by practical workers, also does not arouse doubts. But such phenomena and processes as the turnover of personnel, migration, social and occupational mobility and so forth have a strong influence on the solution of economic problems. The enumerated processes are caused not by the change of the socialist system, but by its functioning (processes of the second kind). They do not change the essence of our society, but do influence its life and the fate of its citizens. Moreover, social planning is called upon to promote the overcoming of negative phenomena (processes of the third kind), which are not caused by the socialist system, but were inherited from capitalism.

Thus, all three kinds of social processes in the mature socialist society are the object of social planning.

Whereas the question of what it is necessary to manage is relatively clear, the question of how to manage is of considerably greater difficulty. As to the problems of increasing the well-being and improving the living and working conditions of the population, a method relatively developed by economists is used in this area of social planning. The matter of the theory and method of regulating the enumerated social processes of the three kinds is more complicated. There is no doubt that their management should be carried out indirectly, by mediation. It is impossible, for example, to plan a reduction of crime by 20 percent or a decrease of the substantial differences between mental and physical labor by 10 percent. It is only possible to provide for the creation of the necessary conditions so as to optimize the processes taking place in society. For the practice of social planning it is important to know and skillfully use these conditions. Thus, it is impossible to decrease the turnover of personnel to the optimum level only by means of educational measures. Certain capital investments in the acceleration of technical progress and the improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers are necessary for the solution of this problem.

Of course, it is impossible to ignore other directions of the regulation of social processes. An important role among them belongs to organizational and administrative measures. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU, "On the Further Tightening Up of Labor Discipline and the Reduction of the Turnover of Personnel in the National Economy," in which much attention is devoted to organizational and administrative measures (the increase of the length of leaves with an increase of the length of continuous service, the increase of the length of the winding up of work after submitting notice of dismissal

and so on), can serve as confirmation of this. The level and nature of the organizing work of party, soviet, economic and various public organizations are of enormous importance for the management of the migration of the population, the vocational guidance of young people and the solution of many other problems.

The creation of the appropriate economic conditions, by which we mean the economic interest and responsibility of all managers and workers for the solution of the problems of social development, is also exceptionally important. Unfortunately, in this respect so far very little has been done. The collectives of enterprises and their managers are materially interested in and bear responsibility for the fulfillment of the technical, industrial and financial plan, but no one is responsible for the fulfillment of the plan of social development and is interested in it being stepped up. As a result the implementation of social measures in practice is entirely dependent on the desire and will of one manager or another. The data of our studies in a number of cities of the country attest that frequently the number of workers officially in line for housing per 100 workers differs at neighboring enterprises by two- to threefold.

Finally, in the management of social processes the ideological conditions of their regulation, that is, the development of a certain public opinion on the problems important to the entire society, play an important role. First of all this concerns questions of the tightening up of labor discipline, the transformation of labor into the first vital need, the optimization of the social and vocational guidance of young people, migration from the countryside to the city, the comprehensive development of the individual and so on. Only by influencing social processes through the creation of all four groups of conditions can we achieve their optimization.

The experience of practical work in the area of social planning attests to the lag of sociological science in the elaboration of the appropriate methods. In the majority of works on social planning the practical suggestions and recommendations are made without the proper reliance on the results of scientific research, often at the level of common sense. The reasons for such a situation should be sought in the inadequate study of the corresponding problems in the theory of scientific communism, which acts as the theoretical basis of special sociological theories. In turn the theory of scientific communism, which is developed by a purely deductive means, without relying on the achievements of applied sociology, can be transformed into scholastic theorizing in isolation from real life.

The first problem which faces us in this connection consists in the elaboration of methods of the qualitative specification of the goals. With respect to the social processes of the first kind (the processes of the development of socialist relations into communist relations) the basic goals are specified in party documents (for example, the movement toward complete social homogeneity). But in social planning this goal should also be specified quantitatively: it is necessary to picture the degree of obliteration of the substantial differences between mental and physical labor, the city and the countryside over a specific time period. This question becomes even more complicated if it is examined with reference to the individual republic, city and enterprise, when the unevenness of the development of regions and their specific nature have to be taken into account.

In conformity with one of the points of view the planning of the maximum permissible social changes under the given conditions is the optimal. But here it is forgotten that the building of communism is an objectively governed process, that socialist social relations can and should develop into communist social relations only as the appropriate economic, political and ideological conditions become ripe. Practical experience shows to what adverse consequences libertarianism can lead.

In our opinion, when determining the optimum rate of occurrence of the processes in question it is necessary to select several reference points, the first of which is the economic opportunities of society to solve a certain social problem at a given time, the second is the consequences of the solution of this problem for society, that is, the extent of the economic and social losses as a result of its existence or due to the fact that it was solved prematurely. The third reference point is the consequences of its solution for other economic and social problems. If it is possible to determine the place of the problem in question in the system of goals of society, it may turn out that namely it is the key to the solution of the remaining questions. Thus, for example, it is already clear today that the increase of the meaningfulness of labor by the complete automation of production processes acts as an important condition of the solution of a large number of problems--the transformation of labor into the first vital need, the tightening up of labor discipline, the reduction of the turnover of personnel, the comprehensive development of the individual, the increase of the political activeness of the workers and so on. If we were able to estimate the quantitative influence of complete automation on all these processes, perhaps it would turn out that the overall gain of society from its introduction considerably exceeds all the expenditures. Then the search for the main link would be made not intuitively, but on the basis of exacting calculations. The degree of necessity of the solution of the given problem, which is also determined by the development of a "tree of goals," can serve as the fourth reference point. Finally, the sequence of the solution of each of the problems should not be forgotten: what precisely needs to be done today, what needs to be done tomorrow. Here misalignment and unevenness in their solution must not be permitted.

The matter of social processes caused by the functioning of socialist society is even more complicated, since they are contradictory by their very nature. A high level of migration from the Nonchernozem countryside to the city in central Russia is a negative phenomenon, but such a direction of migration, to be sure, is favorable in Central Asia. The turnover of personnel is a great economic evil, but it is necessary as a method of the redistribution of manpower by enterprises and regions and the exercise of the personal freedom of Soviet citizens and as a means of improving the sociopsychological climate in collectives. Precisely for this reason in the decisions of the party only the reduction, and not the elimination of the turnover is called for, it is not proposed to introduce any legal bans on it. By means of occupational mobility the national economy is being provided with manpower in new specialties (in which the educational system has not yet had time to train personnel), but it is also harmful, since society is forced to spend enormous amounts of money on the retraining of specialists. In this case it is necessary to choose the lesser of the evils, being guided by the interests of society as a whole. There is no uniform direction which has been established for the entire country for the indicated processes. Each of the specific objects of planning has its own optimum, which is determined by its place in the system of social goals.

It is considerably simpler to determine the goal when examining the processes of the third kind--the combatting of negative trends which do not stem from the essence of socialism, since all of society is interested in their elimination. The more we can reduce crime or drunkenness during a five-year plan or a year, the better it is for the country.

The second problem of the theory of the management of social processes is the measurement of the level of social development. First of all it is necessary to establish whether the concept "social development" is equivalent when applied to society as a whole and when applied to the communities constituting it--classes, nations, social strata and groups, collectives. In our opinion, this question should be answered with a "no," since each community is an independent level of management with its own competence and its own means of influencing social processes. For example, an enterprise can control the turnover of personnel considerably more effectively than a city. At the same time a plant which is not a part of the agro-industrial complex of the country in practice is incapable of influencing the solution of the problem of the city and the countryside. An oblast or republic can influence the problem of transforming labor into the first vital need to a much smaller extent than a sector. Each type of social community has its own relatively independent objective laws of development.

However, it is necessary to remember that the nature of the development of any community first of all is determined by the nature of the development of society as a whole and only secondly by its specific nature. Consequently, the specific determination of the goals and tasks of social development, which would correspond to the directions of the social development of the country as the particular corresponds to the general, is necessary for each type of social community.

What, for example, is the social development of a city? It covers far from all social processes. Thus, the processes of obliterating the substantial differences between the city and the countryside disappear from it, but such phenomena as the growth of large cities, migration from small cities to large cities, the increase of the importance of mental labor in the overall system of urban development factors, the greater and greater concentration of the population and so on are not typical of the country as a whole. In turn the social development of a nation presumes the quantitative change of its size, the convergence and flourishing of each nation, the change of its social structure and the assurance of the cultural unity of its representatives. The social development of the labor collective includes changes in its social structure, the enhancement of its role in the life of the members of the collective, the increase of their standard of living and so on. This list is only an outline which shows how diverse the set of components of social development can be.

Further it is necessary to examine the question of measuring the degree of social development of the given community as a whole. When working on this problem, which is of exceptionally great practical importance for regulating living conditions in different regions, cities and villages, we are faced with some difficulties. So far it is not known how to measure the degree of obliteration of the substantial differences between the city and the countryside, mental and physical labor, the working class and the peasantry. In itself the obliteration of differences is the result of diverse processes which often do not depend on each other. For example,

the obliteration of the substantial differences between mental and physical labor takes place owing to the change in the nature of the labor of workers as a result of the complete automation of production, the increase of their cultural and technical level, the stepping up of rationalization and inventive activity, participation in the management of the affairs of society and the change of leisure activity, on the one hand, and the increase of the level of consciousness, solidarity and discipline of the intelligentsia, on the other. Even if we could measure each individual component of a process, we would not be able to ascertain the degree of its implementation as a whole. Thus, the obliteration of the differences between the city and the countryside with respect to some indicators (the level of income, education and so on) in the past decade has proceeded very intensively; with respect to others (per capita housing construction, opportunities to obtain an education and to choose an occupation), on the contrary, the gap has increased.

The practical importance of the problem in question is clearly illustrated by the following example. The analysis of the data published annually by VESTNIK STATISTIKI on the degree of supply of the capitals of the union republics and cities with a population of 1 million and more with housing, medical institutions, libraries, seats at movie theaters, as well as on the extent of the commodity turnover on a per capita basis shows that the differences even between cities of the same type over the past 10 years with respect to the majority of indicators not only has not decreased, but has increased. This applies all the more to cities of different types. However, the lack of a method of appraising the importance of each of the indicators in the overall appraisal of the living conditions does not make it possible now to draw an unambiguous conclusion on whether these differences as a whole are increasing or decreasing.

In attempting to answer this question, we reasoned that no one knows better than city dwellers themselves, which of the living conditions are of the greatest importance to them. Therefore, in conducting at this time an all-union study of the social structure of the urban population, we are enlisting the residents of cities as experts who rate the importance for them of certain components or others of the living conditions. In all the survey will cover 59,000 people in 24 cities which represent all the largest regions of the country. On the basis of the expert appraisals of the population it is proposed to calculate coefficients of the importance of each of the indicators and to derive an equation of the overall rating of living conditions in any city. Only then will we be able to say that in city A the people live better than in city B and will we be able to elaborate scientific recommendations on the procedure of allocating the corresponding capital. But at the same time within the problem of managing social development another question arises: how must living conditions be regulated in different regions?

Three approaches are possible here. In conformity with the communist principle of the complete social equality of people, the first presumes the equalization of regional differences in living conditions in all regions. To be sure, this approach is quite legitimate. However, it must not be forgotten that under the conditions of socialism residual elements of inequality between regions will be preserved. On the basis of the second approach at times it is necessary even to increase the inequality in living conditions in regions, using this differentiation as a tool to attract manpower to places where society especially needs it (for example, Siberia and the Far East, regions of the especially rapid development of the productive

forces). The third approach consists in carrying over to this sphere the effect of the socialist principle of pay according to the quantity and quality of labor: the living conditions of a region should be improved in proportion to the increase of production in it in order to create a collective material interest of the population in its economic development. Obviously, all three approaches have their own positive traits and shortcomings. In practical activity it is necessary to combine the merits of each of them in some form.

The comprehensive improvement of living conditions is only one aspect of social development. Another aspect of it is the development of the social processes of the first type. Even if we learn to quite accurately measure them separately, we will be faced with a third difficulty: how do you obtain a detailed, comprehensive appraisal of the degree of social development of the given object? New ideas and a new approach are extremely necessary here. However, if we do not have methods of comparing the levels of social development of certain communities or others, we also cannot define the goals quantitatively and, consequently, cannot speak of the effective management of social development. The lack of elaboration of the theoretical problem finds direct expression in the practice of adopting relaxed plans, which in turn leads to economic losses.

The first period of the development of the theory and practice of social planning in our country is coming to an end. Everything that could have been done on the basis of old methods has already been done. We are thoroughly convinced that the existing methods of social planning (including the ones we developed) need qualitative improvement in order to conform to present requirements and the complexity of the tasks being advanced by the party. A new stage of the elaboration of the theory and methods of social planning on the basis of the program-goal approach and the modeling of social processes is beginning. This will make it possible to present our goals of economic and social development in interconnection, to establish priorities and to properly allocate capital.

The first attempts to elaborate in detail a "tree of goals" of socialist society were confronted with serious difficulties. Evidently, quick results should not be expected, but at the same time it must not be assumed that practice has significantly outdistanced sociological theory, as was the case at the first stage of the development of social planning. Without a scientific solution of these problems social planning, being based only on common sense, will be the notorious planning "from the achieved level."

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SOCIAL FORECASTING AND ITS ROLE IN THE SOLUTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 49-56

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[Text] Forecasting in the social sciences underwent development in our country following the 23d CPSU Congress, which raised the assumption of the need to broaden the scope of national economic planning, to examine along with economic questions an extensive group of social questions and, after stepping up the forecasting efforts, to increase even more the soundness of plans. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Increase the Efficiency of the Work of Scientific Organizations and to Expedite the Use in the National Economy of the Achievements of Science and Technology" (1968), contained the directive to elaborate long-range forecasts for 10-15 years and more on the most important problems of the national economy. The implementation of this directive transformed forecasting into a specific trend of interdisciplinary research.

The 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses confirmed the urgency of the improvement of planning methods, the detailed study of social needs, the preparation of forecasts of the economic potentials, the thorough analysis and evaluation of different versions of decisions, as well as their immediate and long-term consequences.

During 1966-1975 Soviet forecasting specialists solved a number of theoretical, methodological, procedural and technical problems connected with increasing the practical efficiency of forecasting. In particular, the relationship of foresight, forecasting and planning was determined. Forecasting began to be regarded as one of the forms of the concrete expression of foresight, as a component of preplanning studies which give probability and alternate estimates of the possible consequences of the implementation of the plan and in general of any decision in the sphere of the management of social processes. The inadmissibility of reducing social forecasts to predictions which ignore possible and even necessary solutions, which are capable of changing substantially the course of the processes being forecasts, was revealed. This was possible owing to the elaboration of forecasts of an exploratory and standard nature. The exploratory elaboration of forecasts presumes the hypothetical continuation in the future of observed trends for the purpose of determining the long-range social problems which are liable to solution by means of

management. In standard forecasting the possible means of the optimum solution of the indicated problems and the achievement of a certain optimum which has been prescribed by goal setting are sought. Experience has shown that such a methodological orientation of social forecasts yields a great practical impact.

The refinement of the orientation of research work promoted the choice of adequate forecasting methods: the interview of experts in person and by correspondence, the extrapolation of trends and other prognostic modeling, including matrix, script and other models. Having been united into a method, they make it possible to produce forecasts of a high degree of reliability. The question of the time range of forecasting was also settled. Five main levels of the social forecast were established: current or operational (up to a year), short-term (for the next five years), medium-term (for a decade) and long-term (for the next 20 years), extralong-term (beyond these limits). In some areas of social forecasting the range of long-term forecasts was changed in conformity with the peculiarities of the objects being studied. But as a whole the tendency for the most complete combination of the levels of forecasting and planning predominates.

The deduction of the fundamental impossibility of uniting forecasting studies into some one discipline (futurology) or into a special set of sciences (like the historical sciences) was an important theoretical result. As is known, description (analysis), explanation (diagnosis) and prediction (the forecast) are integral functions of every science. Therefore forecasting can and should be developed in all sciences without exception, with allowance made for the specific nature of each of them. There also exist, of course, some general laws of the elaboration of forecasts, with which a special scientific discipline--prognostics--is called upon to deal. At the same time the forecasts in different sciences (especially in the social sciences) form complex sets, so-called target groups, in which one of the trends is the leading one, while the others are secondary ones. A typical example of such a set is national economic forecasting, in which economic and sociological forecasts are the characteristic forecasts, while many others are background forecasts.

The increase of the role of socio-economic planning at all levels of the vital activity of Soviet society is making social forecasting one of the most important tasks of sociological science.

The work on the construction of systems of indicators which constitute the reference (base) models of the objects being forecast especially advanced during the past five years. Several scientific conferences and a special international seminar (Moscow, 1976) were devoted to this problem. More than 10 scientific research institutions, which prepared a number of works,¹ participated in the work. In particular, the methods of the content and comparative analysis of data files which are expressed by a system of indicators, the interview of experts in person and by correspondence for the same purpose, surveys of the population (to check the effectiveness of the proposed indicators) and others were approved. Special studies were devoted to the methods of uniting the indicators into models.

It was possible to achieve important results in the area of systematizing social indicators.

Another direction in which appreciable gains were made is the methodological and procedures questions of social forecasting, which are of a philosophical and sociological nature. Among them are the category analysis of the concepts of social foresight and forecasting, the elaboration of a conceptual system, the comparative and content analysis of the methods of forecasting, the specific nature of the most important subjects of social forecasting (such as social needs and structure, social organization and management, social time and space, the way of life of society and the individual and so forth),² as well as the development of specific methods of forecasting different sociological objects.³

The third direction--the criticism of the concepts of modern bourgeois futurology--is of particular importance for the further development of Marxist-Leninist scientific foresight (including social forecasting). In 1976-1980 Soviet sociologists appreciably stepped up their activity in this area, having prepared a number of works which contain a concrete critical examination of the latest futurological trends in the West.⁴

Finally, the important work in the area of the terminology of prognostics should be noted. For a number of years a large group of specialists engaged in the preparation of a collection of recommended terms within the Committee for Scientific and Technical Terminology of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Owing to the publication of the collection in forecasting (unlike some other fields of research, including sociological research) the use of terms has been standardized.

Of course, the research activity in the indicated directions requires continuation. For example, the studies of the structure of the indicators of the so-called forecasting background--extraneous factors which significantly determine the prospects of the development of the object being forecast--are lagging in the field of basic modeling. A large amount of work has to be performed in the area of the theoretical methodological and procedural problems of forecasting which are of a philosophical and sociological nature--from the more detailed analysis of such concepts as hypothesis and forecast, law and forecast, analysis, range and forecast to the development of a system of standard methods of social forecasts. The criticism of the latest non-Marxist concepts of social forecasting, which have appeared in recent years in the West and have not yet been evaluated in detail in Marxist sociological literature, requires special attention. As to the collection of recommended terms, here constant systematic work on the updating of the conceptual system is needed, so that it would meet present requirements.

So far the theoretical work on the analysis of the peculiarities of the exploratory and standard transformation of base models into forecasting models for the purpose of increasing the reliability, accuracy and range of forecasts of a sociological nature is lagging. Inadequate attention is being devoted to the evaluation of the degree of reliability, accuracy and validity of social forecasts. About 10 methods of verification (direct, indirect, inverse, consecutive, opponent and others) have been proposed, but only the simplest--the supplementary interview of experts--is used in practice. Meanwhile experience has shown that in many cases it is impermissible to use forecasting information for the needs of management without thorough verification. The methodological and methods questions of the optimization of the procedures on the elaboration of recommendations for the increase of the efficiency of goal setting, planning, programming, designing and day-to-day management decisions on the basis of the comparison of the data of forecasting research and standards require a special study.

This list could be continued. But the indicated questions are only an introduction to forecasting. Their solution is not an end in itself, but the creation of the conditions for the systematic increase of the effectiveness and quality of the obtained forecasts.

Let us examine in more detail some results and problems which are connected with the content aspect and final product of social forecasting. Within a single article it is impossible to analyze in detail the numerous specific forecasts which have been made over the past five year in various directions of sociological research. Let us limit ourselves to the most important sets of long-range social problems.

The key social problem, on the solution of which the successful solution of other questions depends to a considerable extent, is the increase of the efficiency and quality of production. That is why in the draft plan of the CPSU Central Committee for the 26th party congress, "The Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990," it is emphasized: "to devote particular attention to the increase of labor productivity, the increase of the yield of fixed capital in all the sectors of the national economy and the decrease of the materials-output ratio of production."

As is known, the growth rate of labor productivity in the USSR, as compared with the majority of other economically developed countries, is relatively high. However, first, it lags behind the planned rate, that is, the actually possible rate. Second, with the economic development of the country each percentage increase, of course, comes with greater and greater difficulty and, if the proper steps are not taken, the decay of the curve characterizing the growth rate seems to occur. Third, in itself the growth rate is not an end in itself. It should be integrally connected with the quality of the final product and with production efficiency. It is possible, for example, to increase the output of machines, but if they break down quickly, what is the point of quantity? Or it is possible to increase the output of clothing, but if it is not in demand and becomes a part of the "nonliquid stocks," the end result is equal to zero. All this, taken together, places on the agenda the question of mobilizing various factors (including social factors) which are capable of considerably increasing labor productivity, the efficiency and quality of production.

The party has outlined two ways of solving this complex problem: the wage according to the final product which is delivered to the consumer, which was reflected in the concept of the standard net output which makes it possible to take more fully into account the labor contribution of the given collective or individual worker, as well as the participation of the workers in making the decisions, on which the success of labor depends; the main method here is the brigade contract. The evaluation of the labor contribution according to the standard net output and the brigade contract will be disseminated everywhere during the 11th Five-Year Plan. The thorough study of the social aspects of these innovations in the future is required of sociologists.

Standard forecasts, which are called upon to "suggest" to management the optimum ways of achieving the set goal, are especially urgent at this time. Unfortunately, they have been elaborated much more weakly than exploratory forecasts. The matter of developing criteria of the optimum with respect to each specific object being

forecast is especially bad--and first of all in the standard forecasts of a sociological nature. Greater attention of sociologists toward this aspect of the matter is necessary.

What has been said in many ways determines the prospects of the solution of the problems of social organization and management. It is well known that the development of social production leads to the steady complication of the former and to the increase of the proportion of the latter. The exploratory forecast of one trend or another leads to data which signal the need for the more and more strict purposeful regulation of the corresponding processes. In our press the unwieldy organizational structures, the intolerable excesses of staff in the sphere of management and the numerous "intermediary instances," which not only do not make any decisions and do not bear any responsibility for them, but also sharply reduce the efficiency and quality of organization and management, have been repeatedly subjected to principled criticism. In this sense the standard forecast of the ways of achieving the optimum with respect to preset scientifically sound criteria is also important.

The social forecasts connected with the effect of the law of the increase of needs under the conditions of mature socialism are of particular interest. Life shows that radical shifts in the value orientations of people occur at a certain (relatively high) level of the satisfaction of the needs for food, clothing, housing and so on. The possibilities of meeting the needs of a higher order--social and intellectual needs--are acquiring a prime value. With the spontaneous development of events various kinds of vain pseudodemands, which lead to the pursuit of things, hoarding and so forth, often move to the forefront. The means for the more and more complete satisfaction of reasonable needs for food, clothing, housing, contact, knowledge and creative labor is revealed when there is a purposeful social policy, which is possible only under socialism. A general standard forecast has been elaborated by the theory of scientific communism: the transformation of labor into the foremost vital need of everyone. But how, specifically, can and should this optimum be realized in the foreseeable future? Special forecasting studies of a sociological nature are called upon to answer this question.

Exploratory forecasts convincingly show the steady movement of Soviet society toward complete social homogeneity. By extrapolating the observed trends to the future, it is easy to arrive at the following conclusions: in the 1990's the proportion of the kolkhoz peasantry will be, to all appearances, only a few percent (approximately the same as the intelligentsia constituted in the 1920's), while the working class will be nearly comparable in its proportion to the peasantry of the 1920's; the group of employees, especially the intelligentsia, will increase even more significantly as compared with the 1970's (mainly owing to the decrease of the proportion of the peasantry). The main thing is that the differences between workers, peasants and employees both with respect to the amount and form of receipt of income and with respect to the level of education, demands, general and occupational culture and the entire lifestyle will diminish substantially.

At the same time it would be incorrect to represent the future social homogeneity of Soviet society as some leveling of incomes, demands, tastes, abilities and needs. Not a leveling, but equal opportunities in the realization of different abilities and the meeting of different needs--such is the social homogeneity of Soviet society on the level of general standard forecasts.

The social forecasts of the anticipated and desired changes in the correlation and content of working and free time showed the expediency of a differentiated approach to this problem under the conditions of socialism. The development of productive forces is affording a real opportunity for a further, and considerable, decrease of the working time. But experience shows that before the appropriate development of the "leisure industry" and the increase of the level of culture of the population it is desirable to shorten the work week first of all for women who have young children, for people of retirement age who are continuing to work in social production, for those studying in the system of evening or correspondence education and so forth. The increase of the free time for the bulk of the workers should be accomplished mainly by shortening the time connected with traveling to work and with housework, as well as by the gradual increase of annual paid leave.

Exploratory forecasting in the sphere of housing, settling and the environment shows the negative trends of the standardization of housing, the excessive growth of large and extralarge cities, the premature declaration of some villages as "unpromising," environmental pollution of both an industrial and an everyday nature. Standard developments are being carried out in all these directions. In particular, a more individualized and comfortable layout of housing is being developed, fundamentally new concepts of settlement have been advanced, a genuine public nature protection movement, which is backed by specific proposals of a standard forecasting nature, has been launched. However, all this is only the start of the work. Many specific questions, which are within the competence of sociologists, still await their scientific solution.

In the past five years the elaboration of sociodemographic forecasts has made great progress. The alarming trends of the rapid spread of the one-child family, which does not ensure the simple reproduction of the population, as well as the increase of the number of divorces, childless married couples and people 25-35 years old, who are not married, which is complicating the demographic situation even more, have been quite thoroughly revealed. The main causes of the enumerated phenomena have been established. This made it possible to make exploratory forecasts, which show that it is impossible to overcome the ripe problematic situation without an active demographic policy, as well as standard forecasts which identify the specific means of optimizing the processes of the formation and strengthening of the family and the stabilization of the birth rate.

The need to differentiate the demographic policy with allowance made for the features of different regions of the country was revealed. Thus, the direct opposite demographic situation as compared with the western and central regions, which is characterized by the overwhelming prevalence of families with many children and an exceptionally high growth rate of the population, has formed in the republics of Central Asia and in Azerbaijan. It would be strange to try to solve these problems by some one "universal" means; various forecasting standards are needed here.

Forecasts of migratory processes, in which the scale and peculiarities of some migratory flows are evaluated in detail for the future and standard recommendations on their optimization have been elaborated, stand out among the other directions of sociodemographic forecasting. However, there are still many unsolved problems in the area of sociodemographic forecasting.

The social forecasts in the area of public education are based on the fundamental assumption advanced at the 25th CPSU Congress: our general educational system needs serious improvement. This applies to all educational subsystems without exception--preschool institutions, the elementary, incomplete secondary and secondary school, vocational and technical schools, secondary and higher specialized educational institutions, the improvement of the skills and the further training of personnel, people's universities, self-instruction and so on. The point is that the existing system began to be formed more than half a century ago, when the overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate, there was an acute shortage of certified specialists, while only 1 out of 100 people 18 years old graduated from secondary school. Now the situation has changed radically, it can be said that it has become the direct opposite, and the attempts at the extensive development of the existing system are unwarranted. The extrapolation of the observed trends on the future all the more does not stand up to criticism. An increasing need is being felt for standard forecasts which would clarify the alternate means of substantially improving the system. This task concerns not only educators, but also sociologists, since in the end it is a matter of the effectiveness of communist education and of the formation of the value orientations of people.

The same thing can be said of social forecasts in the area of cultural institutions. With respect to their main types (publishing, radio and television, movies and the theater, clubs and libraries, museums and parks of culture, sports and tourist facilities) the extrapolation of the observed trends shows either increasing overloads or an inadequate efficiency of work. Here, too, detailed standard forecasts are required.

The forecasts of the development of national relations are in an especially complicated situation. The traditional indicators, which are incorporated in the base models of the objects being forecast, are turning out more and more often to be inadequate. Thus, the percentage of mixed marriages tells the forecaster hardly anything without consideration of the increasing number of divorces. The percentage of people with a secondary and higher education under present conditions is also too informative for the future. Indicators characterizing the features of the convergence of nations under the conditions of mature socialism are needed. And of course, more precise forecasting standards, which would reveal more completely the relationship of the concepts "the future merging of nations" and "the flourishing of cultures which are national in form and socialist in content," are needed.

Forecasts of antisocial phenomena require no less attention. Although criminological forecasts along with demographic forecasts are among the most developed forecasts, their sociological aspects have been elaborated the least. Moreover, this area is not limited to the dynamics of crime. The spheres of so-called unorganized production and consumer redistribution (the exchange of allocated resources between individual enterprises, the obtaining of goods and services by individual people, bypassing the system of state-organized distribution), the alarming dynamics of the consumption of alcoholic beverages--a direct or indirect cause of the overwhelming majority of crimes, disturbances of the peace, divorces, accidents at work or in everyday life and so on--belong here. It is not permissible to reduce all this to just the exploratory aspect of forecasting. Standard forecasting elaborations, preferably with the most extensive participation of sociologists as possible, are needed.

It is appropriate to emphasize that the above-enumerated aspects of social forecasting are a complex which requires the appropriate approach. This approach has now been developed in the form of the concept of the way of life (the mode of vital activity), which plays in sociology approximately the same integrating role as the concept of the mode of production in political economics, making it possible to examine in interconnection the social problems of labor and daily life, education and culture, public life. Let us note that the forecasting of the way of life has undergone considerable development in the past five years.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality" (1979), provides for the following new procedure of drafting long-range plans of the economic and social development of the country. The Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the State Committee for Construction Affairs draft the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress for the coming 20 years (broken down by five-year plans) and submit it to the Council of Ministers and Gosplan no later than two years before the start of the next five-year plan. Every five years the necessary refinements are made in the program. Gosplan, on the basis of the socio-economic tasks specified by the CPSU for the long-range future and on the basis of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress, jointly with the ministries and departments, as well as the councils of ministers of the union republics draws up a draft of the main directions of USSR economic and social development for the coming decade (broken down by five-year plans). The regular five-year plan of the development of the national economy of the country and the corresponding annual plans are elaborated on this basis. Thus, the forecasting, programming and planning of the development of the economy and culture of the country are merged into a unified system, the scientific substantiation is increased and the range of the management of social processes for the long-range future is extended.

A prominent role is assigned to the elaborations of exploratory and standard forecasts in general and to social forecasting in particular. The demands on sociological research of not only an analytical, but also a forecasting nature increase appreciably. As is evident from the foregoing survey, there are many more unsolved problems in social forecasting than there are achievements. The inadequate developments in the area of the standard aspect of forecasts, the separation of the sociological aspects proper from related fields of forecasting and their combination into a unified set of special-purpose groups of forecasts in sociological research are especially serious. Such shortcomings should be decisively overcome during the coming five-year plan.

The questions of the improvement of the forecasting training of sociologists, the organization of forecasting research and the contact with other fields of forecasting are important. The organization of special courses and the publication of textbooks and reference literature, as happens in the more developed directions of sociological research, are necessary. It is clear that none of the existing scientific institutions, and especially none of the subdivisions, is capable of covering the total amount of work on social forecasts. Experience shows that a special subdivision, which is responsible for the state of forecasting in a given sector, should operate in constant contact with other subdivisions of the corresponding institutions and with other institutions and related sectors. Given the existence

of the Coordinating Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Coordinating Committee of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, which unites specialists in the field of forecasting, it is possible to expect that such a mode of organization, which takes into account the interdisciplinary and interdepartmental nature of forecasting, will be equal to present requirements.

Social forecasting during the coming five-year plan should make significant progress so as to fulfill the tasks which the party, the theory and practice of building communism are setting for it.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Sotsial'nyye issledovaniya: postroyeniye i sravneniye pokazateley" [Social Research: The Construction and Comparison of Indicators], Moscow, 1978; "Statisticheskiye metody analiza informatsii v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniyakh" [Statistical Methods of Analyzing Information in Sociological Research], Moscow, 1979; "Issledovaniye postroyeniya pokazateley sotsial'nogo razvitiya i planirovaniya" [Study of the Structure of Indicators of Social Development and Planning], Moscow 1979; "Pokazateli sotsial'nogo razvitiya i planirovaniya" [Indicators of Social Development and Planning], Moscow, 1980; "Sotsial'nyye pokazateli obraza zhizni sovetskogo obshchestva. Metodologicheskiye problemy" [Social Indicators of the Way of Life of Soviet Society. Methodological Problems], Moscow, 1980.
2. "Metodologicheskiye problemy sotsial'nogo predvideniya" [Methodological Problems of Social Foresight], Kiev, 1977; "Voprosy prognozirovaniya obshchestvennykh yavleniy" [Problems of Forecasting Social Phenomena], Kiev, 1978; "Prognozirovaniye v sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniyakh. Metodologicheskiye problemy" [Forecasting in Sociological Research. Methodological Problems], Moscow, 1978; Yu. A. Vasil'yev, "V. I. Lenin i sotsial'noye predvideniye" [V. I. Lenin and Social Foresight], Minsk, 1978; G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "Sotsialisticheskaya sud'ba chelovechestva" [The Socialist Fate of Mankind], Moscow, 1978; L. L. Rybakovskiy, "Metodologicheskiye voprosy prognozirovaniya naseleniya" [Methodological Problems of Forecasting the Population], Moscow, 1978; V. G. Vinogradov, S. I. Goncharuk, "Metodologicheskiye printsipy sotsial'nogo predvideniya" [Methodological Principles of Social Foresight], Moscow, 1979; N. I. Khralenko, "Filosofsko-metodologicheskiye problemy prognozirovaniya" [Philosophical and Methodological Problems of Forecasting], Leningrad, 1980; see also the yearbook "Problemy sotsial'nogo prognozirovaniya" [Problems of Social Forecasting], issues 1-6, Krasnoyarsk, 1975-1980.
3. "Prognozirovaniye sotsial'nykh potrebnostey molodezhi. Opyt sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya" [Forecasting of the Social Needs of Young People. An Attempt at a Sociological Study], Moscow, 1978; "Samoregulyatsiya i prognozirovaniye sotsial'nogo povedeniya lichnosti" [Self-Regulation and the Forecasting of the Social Behavior of the Individual], Leningrad, 1979.
4. See V. S. Bobrovskiy, "Lichnost' i sotsial'noye prognozirovaniye. Kritika futurologicheskikh kontseptsiy" [The Individual and Social Forecasting. A Critique of Futurological Concepts], Minsk, 1977; V. I. Bovsh, "Futurologiya i

antikommunizm" /Futurology and Anticommunism/, Minsk, 1977; V. V. Kosolapov, V. A. Lisichkin, "Kritika burzhuaznykh kontseptsiy budushchego" /A Critique of Bourgeois Concepts of the Future/, Moscow, 1978; E. A. Arab-Ogly, "Demograficheskiye i ekologicheskiye prognozy. Kritika sovremennykh burzhuaznykh kontseptsiy" /Demographic and Ecological Forecasts. A Critique of Modern Bourgeois Concepts/, Moscow, 1978; A. D. Vinokurov, "Molodezh' kapitalisticheskogo mira i futurologiya" /Young People of the Capitalist World and Futurology/, Minsk, 1979; G. Kh. Shakhnazarov, "Flasko futurologii. Kriticheskiy ocherk nemarksist-skikh teoriy obshchestvennogo razvitiya" /The Fiasco of Futurology. A Critical Essay on Non-Marxist Theories of Social Development/, Moscow, 1979; I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, "Krizis burzhuaznykh kontseptsiy budushchego chelovechestva" /The Crisis of Bourgeois Concepts of the Future of Mankind/, Moscow, 1979.

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CSO: 1806

PROBLEMS OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCES: INTERDISCIPLINARY CONTACTS

THE WAY OF LIFE AS AN OBJECT OF INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 57-63

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Ivan Tikhonovich Levykin, deputy director of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

ETHNOSOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN THE USSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 64-70

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Yuriy Vartanovich Arutyunyan, deputy chief of a sector of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Historical Sciences Leokadiya Mikhaylovna Drobizheva, senior research associate of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] A noteworthy feature of the development of modern sciences is interdisciplinary integration and the formation on its basis of new directions. In the 1960's ethnosociology arose at the meeting point of sociology and ethnography. The task of this new direction is a two-in-one task: on the one hand, to study the social conditionality, specific nature and intensity of expression in different social groups of ethnic traits of culture and daily life, linguistic life, national self-consciousness, interpersonal national relations and so on and, on the other, to reveal the national diversity of social processes, the effective control of which in such a state as the USSR is impossible without consideration of the national peculiarities. The uniformity of social processes is characteristic of all the Soviet peoples, but a specific national nature is sensed in different spheres of the social life of the country, having an appreciable influence on general social phenomena: migration, the employment of the population, vocational orientation and so forth.

The role of national traditions in the area of culture, daily life and family and marital relations is great. The solution of the problems of the social structure of the population and of labor is also connected with national manifestations. The goal of ethnosociology, thus, is the study of the social in the ethnic and the ethnic in the social.¹

The topicality of this direction is obvious. The questions of the effectiveness of state policy in the area of the overcoming of socio-economic differences and the comprehensive development and convergence of nations are of not only scientific, but also great practical importance. The experience of the Soviet Union in solving national problems is of exceptional interest to the peoples throughout the world who are struggling for their sovereignty and independence.

Let us examine the most important problems of modern ethnosociology and the main results of the research and attempt to distinguish some questions which require further elaboration.

Since the 1960's ethnosociological studies have been conducted in all the union and many autonomous republics of the USSR.² The social structure of nations and nationalities, the changes in the culture and daily life, the spread of bilingualism and the relations between nations were studied. The scope of the studies was different--from the main nations and foreign groups living in the republics to individual production collectives.

The need to take into account not only the macroenvironment, that is, the general sociopolitical conditions in the country, but also all the levels of the microenvironment, beginning with the local features of the specific ethnic situation of cities and villages, which differ in type, and ending with the sphere of the direct contact of people--production collectives, the family, the immediate surroundings and so on--is the most important methodological principle of ethnosociological research. The study of the specific nature of the city and the countryside, which are distinguished by both their social and ethnic conditions, is of particular importance here. As a whole a uninational composition of the population and stable national traditions are more characteristic of rural areas.

A mandatory requirement when elaborating the methodology, methods and tools of the studies of national problems is a historical approach to the study of the processes and phenomena in question, which makes it possible not only to clarify the picture of national life today, but also to forecast its further development.

Like other directions of sociological knowledge, ethnosociological research is based on two types of sources: a) business documents--from the registration forms of marriages and divorces at civil registry offices, management ledgers, the reports of state institutions and so on to official statistical information on a national scale; b) primary information obtained as a result of conducting interviews, distributing questionnaires and so on.

The study of the social structure of nations and nationalities is among the main problems at the center of attention of ethnosociologists. Before the development of ethnosociological research this question had practically not been studied. The social compositions of the nations and population of republics rarely coincided. Meanwhile they are not equal, and when this circumstance was not taken into account, the true picture of the changes in the formation of the working class and the intelligentsia of the peoples who especially lagged in the past in their socio-economic development was in fact glossed over. At the same time a simple comparison of the dynamics of the social structure of nations attests to the priority growth rate of the working class and the intelligentsia of the indigenous nationalities of the republics.³

The analysis of the social and occupational structure of nations is of fundamental importance for understanding the extent and rate of social changes, since at the present stage of the achievement by them of social homogeneity the center of gravity lies in the obliteration of the substantial social and occupational differences of the peoples of the USSR.

The studies have established a similar educational level of the representatives of identical social and occupational groups of different peoples, for example, of skilled workers--Estonians, Russians, Moldavians, Georgians and others. Now the

educational potential of the intelligentsia even among the peoples, who in the past lagged in socio-economic development, practically does not differ. The proportions of the individual detachments within the intelligentsia are also coming closer. Thus, whereas on the eve of World War II the proportion of the scientific intelligentsia among Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks and Turkmens was one-fifth as much as among Russians, in the 1970's it was only half as much.

It is well known that the ratio of the urban and rural population in our country is not identical everywhere. For example, the overwhelming majority of Russians and Armenians live in cities; the overwhelming majority of Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Moldavians, Tajiks and Uzbeks live in villages. Since substantial differences between the city and the countryside have been preserved to this day, the ratio of city dwellers and rural inhabitants is closely connected with the class and socio-occupational composition of the nations and their way of life. In the republics where the proportion of the rural population is high, there are fewer skilled workers and intelligentsia and there are less opportunities to meet the sociocultural demands. The further movement toward social homogeneity will, evidently, take place not so much due to the increase of the urban population as by means of the improvement of rural living conditions. The experience of diverse solutions of this problem has already been gained in the republics. For example, the creation of the agro-industrial agglomeration in Estonia played an important role in the rationalization of migratory processes.⁴

The study of both aspects of the social mobility of the peoples of the USSR: the vertical aspect, that is, changes in social and occupational status, and the horizontal aspect--migration, became possible with the development of ethnosociological research. The analysis of representative mass materials showed that especially high rates of social growth are characteristic of the peoples with a comparatively high proportion of unskilled workers in the past. The identification of this trend is of fundamental importance for understanding the changes in the social "positions" of nations, which are the basis for national relations.⁵

Ethnosociological research examines the social structure and mobility of nations not only in the country as a whole, but also of the peoples which form a territorial community within republics or regions, for example, Estonians, Russians and the representatives of other nations in Estonia, Moldavians, Russians, Ukrainians, (Gagauses) and Bulgarians in Moldavia and so on. According to the data of a study conducted in the early 1970's by the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with the Department of Ethnography of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, the proportion of people 40-49 years old, who are engaged in skilled labor (in the cities of the Moldavian SSR), among Russians is twofold greater than among Moldavians. In the age group of 25-29 this difference has been leveled considerably, while in the group of 20-24 it has completely disappeared.

The analysis of the dependence of education, the social status of parents, the social composition of the family, national affiliation and the knowledge of languages on social growth (according to the results of a study among Tatars and Russians in the cities and villages of the Tatarskaya ASSR) showed that national affiliation under present conditions is not a significant factor which determines the mass scale of social advancement. Subsequently this conclusion was corroborated by studies in other union and autonomous republics.

Social shifts are studied by ethnosociologists in the broad historical perspective. The social status of not only the respondents, but also their fathers and children, the comparison of whose social status makes it possible to trace the differences in the fates of three generations, the intensity of the mobility of age cohorts and the change of the factors determining advancement, was established in the studies of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Questions of the horizontal mobility of nations, as was already noted, are also of great importance. Until recently there was no information which made it possible to represent more or less completely the motives of migration and the factors which check the shifts in different regions of the country. V. I. Perevedentsev was one of the first to note the importance of ethnic factors and the linguistic situation in migration.⁶ Ethnosociological studies have revealed the influence on the rate of migration not only of the linguistic environment, but also of traditional family relations.

In the republics of Transcaucasia, and especially in Central Asia, where large families predominate, while in large cities the Russian language functions most often as the means of international intercourse, the rural population is very stable. At the same time the industrial production of precisely these regions is experiencing an acute need for workmen.⁷ It is necessary, consequently, to provide for measures which promote the rational use of the abundant labor resources of the rural population of a number of republics--to develop interfarm industrial enterprises which make it possible to use the manpower without divorcing it from the local surroundings and the customary style of rural life; to locate vocational and technical schools with allowance made for this and so on.

The studies in Tataria and on the Lower Amur showed that the rural inhabitants of different nationalities experience to a different degree the influence of urban "magnetism." In a similar situation the Russians and Tatars, Nagays and Ulchi rate differently the conditions of labor, culture and daily life, strive with a different degree of activeness for a life in the city and for the mastering of "urban" occupations. It is also noted that the direction and rate of migration depends on the already existing "representation" of the nationalities in cities. For example, among Russians in the villages of Tataria more of their children live in the city than among Tatars.

The Nanays, Ulchi and other peoples of the Amur prefer to migrate within Khabarovskiy Kray. V. I. Boyko explains this by the features of national psychology, particularly the habit of linking labor activity and leisure with the river. In a new study the author shows the breakdown of migrants in cities by sectors of production, noting the relatively high concentration of Nanays in construction and machine building (especially men), and again emphasizes the importance of national "representations."⁸

The main motives of migration in different regions of the country are very similar. They are education, the desire to have an urban specialty, dissatisfaction with cultural and living conditions. At the same time the factors checking migration are different among different peoples. Far from all the problems connected with the national and regional features of the social structure and with the mobility of the population have been studied fully enough. The problem of the efficient use

and the rational distribution of manpower resources by sectors and spheres of production requires special attention. Vocational guidance, the employment (including the sectorial employment) of men and women and production activeness often depend on the sizes of the family, which are so different among different peoples. These questions, as well as many tasks of demographic policy can be successfully solved only with adequately complete information on the mechanism of the interrelationship of social and national factors.

Really significant conclusions can be drawn only on the basis of mass, representative materials. We emphasize this circumstance because there are still frequent instances when global conclusions are based on unrepresentative data. For example, the results of the study of individual collectives and local groups can be carried over only with great caution to large-scale socio-ethnic formations, entire nations and nationalities.

Much attention in ethnosociological research is devoted to questions of culture. In this area ethnosociologists have their own aspect of study. They are interested first of all in the equalization of the level of cultural development of peoples, as well as the correlation of the national and international, modern and traditional elements of culture under the conditions where the material bases of the life of peoples are drawing closer and the community of ideology is being consolidated.

It was established that in a similar environment there are no substantial differences in the educational and cultural experience of identical social groups of different nations. The preserved peculiarities in the level of cultural development of nations under present conditions depend first of all on their social composition and, primarily, on the proportion of the rural population. The Estonians, Russians and representatives of other nationalities of Estonia, the inhabitants of Moldavia, the Tatars and Russians in the Tatarskaya ASSR in practice just as often engaged during their free time in reading newspapers, listening to the radio and watching television programs. However, the theater attendance, the reading of belles lettres and similar artistic consumption by the people of different nationalities (in identical social groups) differ more often.

The problem of changes in the correlation of the national and the international in culture is closely connected with the appraisal of the prospects of the development of the national forms of the latter. The results of multistage interrepublic studies make it possible to draw the following conclusion: the national elements not only are firmly preserved, but are being actively developed, especially in the forms which have an international expression (for example, the ballet, professional music and so on).

Internationalization, as is known, is realized in two directions: by the modernization of each ethnos' own culture and by the perception of the culture of other nations. Comparative interrepublic studies made it possible to analyze this process more thoroughly, having shown that the uniqueness of its versions is connected with historical causes and the specific situation (including the intensity of international contacts in certain regions or others) and, what is even more important, with the socially conditioned need for familiarization with the culture of other nations.

Ethnosociological research made it possible to represent the zones of the relatively more noticeable preservation of national peculiarities (norms of behavior in the family, wedding and funeral rites, traditions of nutrition) and the zones of the most active integration (ideology, philosophical views, the main values of life, general educational knowledge, mass cultural experience).

In practically all ethnosociological studies particular attention is devoted to factors which promote the spread of national-Russian bilingualism. The role of the school, the Army, the ethnic surroundings and contacts in all spheres of public life was identified and analyzed, the real functioning of national languages and the language of international contact was determined. The rate of the influx of manpower into industry (especially in the Central Asian regions) and the great production activeness of people to a certain extent result from the familiarization of the rural population with urban culture and from the knowledge of Russian. The determination of the mechanism of the spread of bilingualism is thus necessary for the solution of not only general social, but also production problems.

Another "language" problem is connected with the learning by the Russian and other nonindigenous population of the languages of the indigenous nationalities. Those groups of the Russian population, which speak the language of the national majority, settle down best of all and adapt more easily to local conditions. A concrete study of the stimuli of the spread of bilingualism among the representatives of the nonindigenous nationalities of the republics will be of considerable assistance not only in the management of national relations, but also in the regulation of personnel policy.

Another theme--the national peculiarities of everyday family relations--is connected with the study of the social structure and culture of peoples. It has been established that a favorable family climate, as well as the level of education and the social status of parents are one of the important factors influencing the way of life of people.

In the sphere of the family the national peculiarities are preserved most stably. The relations in the family, the degree of participation of women and young members in deciding important family questions and the distribution of household duties are different. Important social problems are connected with this. An inverse relationship has been found between the size of the family, the number of children and the employment of women in skilled labor. The lowest proportion of women engaged in skilled labor has been established in the republics of Central Asia, where there are the families with the most children. In the Baltic republics, where the number of children in the family is minimal, the latter indicator is one of the highest in the country.

The attitude toward the family as a value of life, the authority of parents and the norms of relations also are different among different peoples. It is necessary to take all these peculiarities into account, since they have a great influence on the real behavior of people. One of the most significant indicators of social changes in the sphere of the family is the increase of the proportion of mixed marriages. Ethnosociological studies show that the intensification of international contacts, especially in urbanized regions, is leading not only to the quantitative increase of mixed marriages, but also to qualitative changes in value orientations and

everyday family norms. In this connection the question of the adoption of a nationality by children from such families and the problems of national self-consciousness in heterogeneous communities require study in depth.⁹

In conclusion let us examine another sphere which to a certain extent integrates the social and everyday cultural processes in the life of nations and nationalities--interpersonal national relations. The comprehensive study of the latter became possible only owing to concrete sociological research, which makes it possible to include in the field of view public opinion, the aims at international business and informal contacts and national orientations. The study of the opinions, aims and actions, which are connected with international contacts, among people of different socio-occupational groups, under urban and rural conditions, in regions with a different historical and cultural past and in different social situations makes it possible to identify the social, historical, ethnodemographic and cultural circumstances which promote the strengthening of friendly relations. The interrepublic ethnosociological studies, which were conducted according to the uniform program "The Optimization of the Sociocultural Conditions of the Development and Convergence of Nations in the USSR,"¹⁰ yielded an especially large amount of material for multifactor analysis.

The conclusions about the sources of narrowly national orientations are of practical importance. In a report on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR L. I. Brezhnev said that nationalistic prejudices are an extremely tenacious phenomenon which continues to be preserved even "when the objective conditions for any antagonisms in the relations among nations ceased to exist long ago."¹¹

One of the sources of narrowly national views and orientations, primarily among people of the older generation with a low educational level, who are employed in unskilled physical labor, is national cultural narrow-mindedness and the preservation of old-fashioned forms of traditional culture. On the other hand, a correlation of negative aims at international contact with immobility and the dissatisfaction with labor, especially in instances when its nature does not conform to the level of education, has been noted. The measures which provide for the further development of friendly international relations, thus, should be differentiated with respect to specific groups of the population.

Interpersonal national relations are of not only a social, but also a sociopsychological nature, and this area is usually regarded as a marginal zone of research of sociology and ethnopsychology.¹² It is possible to note the first steps in the study of the formation of national self-consciousness, particularly the study of the role of language, manners of behavior, traditions, the community of historical fate in ethnic self-identification and interethnic comparisons against the background of the development of ethnic communities and sociopolitical and ideological life in the country.

The development of ethnosociological research on a wide range of questions made it possible to begin the study of the general and national specific traits of the way of life of the peoples of the USSR,¹³ to identify the main spheres in which the convergence of nations takes place most intensively and to establish the components which stimulate this convergence.

The data of many ethnosociological studies were the basis for the theoretical generalizations and practical recommendations, which were presented in reports at all-union applied science and scientific conferences¹⁴ and in the materials prepared for directive organs.

At the same time in ethnosociology, as in other directions of sociological knowledge, many debatable questions remain. In particular, the questions of the indicators of the national processes and phenomena being studied, of the samplings used by researchers, the effectiveness of the combination of various methods, the coordination of the tools being used and others require special discussion.

In solving these problems ethnosociologists need to utilize more completely the methodological experience of other directions of Soviet sociological science, as well as Marxist sociology abroad.

FOOTNOTES

1. Such an interpretation of the tasks of ethnosociology has become widespread in our literature. See Yu. V. Bromley, "Etnos i etnografiya" /Ethnos and Ethnography/, Moscow, 1973, pp 250, 251; P. Pedoseyev, "Theoretical Problems of the Development and Convergence of Nations," KOMMUNIST, No 1, 1980, pp 57-60.
2. See V. I. Boyko, "Opyt sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya problem razvitiya narodov Nizhnego Amura" /An Attempt at the Sociological Study of the Problems of the Development of the Peoples of the Lower Amur/, Novosibirsk, 1973; V. K. Bondarchuk, V. I. Ivanov, I. N. Braim, V. N. Belyavina, "Izmeneniya v bytu i kul'ture gorodskogo naseleniya Belorussii" /Changes in the Way of Life and Culture of the Urban Population of Belorussia/, Minsk, 1976; M. N. Guboglo, "Razvitiya dvuyazychiya v Moldavskoy SSR" /The Development of Bilingualism in the Moldavian SSR/, Kishinev, 1979; Yu. Kakhk, "Cherty skhodstva" /Traits of Similarity/, Tallinn, 1974; "Opyt etnosotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya obraza zhizni" /An Attempt at an Ethnosociological Study of the Way of Life/, Moscow, 1980; V. V. Pimenov, "Udmurty (Opyt komponentnogo analiza)" /The Udmurts (An Attempt at a Component Analysis)/, Leningrad, 1977; "Sblizheniye sotsial'no-klassovoy struktury sovetskikh natsiy" /The Convergence of the Social Class Structure of the Soviet Nations/, Moscow, 1977; "Sotsial'noye i natsional'noye" /The Social and the National/, Moscow, 1973; "Tendentsii izmeneniya sotsial'no-klassovoy struktury sovetskikh natsiy i narodnostey" /The Trends of the Change of the Social Class Structure of the Soviet Nations and Nationalities/, Moscow, 1978; A. I. Kholmogorov, "Internatsional'nyye cherty sovetskikh natsiy" /International Traits of the Soviet Nations/, Moscow, 1970, and others.
3. See "Sovremennyye etnicheskiye protsessy v SSSR" /Modern Ethnic Processes in the USSR/, Moscow, 1975, pp 122-129; "Natsional'nyye otnosheniya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" /National Relations in the Mature Socialist Society/, Moscow, 1977, p 93.
4. See "Sotsiologicheskiye ocherki o Sovetskoy Estonii" /Sociological Essays on Soviet Estonia/, Tallinn, 1979, pp 25-27.

5. See "Change of the Social Structure of the Soviet Nations," ISTORIYA SSSR, No 4, 1972.
6. See V. I. Perevedentsev, "Metody izucheniya migratsii naseleniya" /Methods of Studying the Migration of the Population/, Moscow, 1975, pp 23, 64.
7. See SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1980, p 80; A. I. Ginzburg, "On the Influence of Some National Traditions on Migration From the Countryside to the City," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 4, 1980.
8. See V. I. Boyko, Op. cit., pp 184, 193; V. I. Boyko, "Sotsial'noye razvitiye narodov Nizhnego Amura" /The Social Development of the Peoples of the Lower Amur/, Novosibirsk, 1977, pp 194-198.
9. See "International Marriages and Their Role in Ethnic Processes in the USSR," "Osnovnyye napravleniya izucheniya natsional'nykh otnosheniy v SSSR" /The Main Directions of the Study of National Relations in the USSR/, Moscow, 1979.
10. The study was made in 1971-1976 by the Sector of Specific Sociological Research of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences jointly with republic institutions. On the program and method of the study see Yu. V. Arutyunyan, "An Attempt at a Socio-Ethnic Study," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 4, 1968; Yu. V. Arutyunyan, "Sociocultural Aspects of the Development and Convergence of Nations in the USSR (The Program, Method and Prospects of the Study)," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 3, 1972.
11. L. I. Brezhnev, "Aktual'nyye voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty KPSS" /Urgent Problems of the Ideological Work of the CPSU/, Vol 1, Moscow, 1978, p 558.
12. See Yu. V. Bromley, "On the Question of the Peculiarities of the Ethnographic Study of the Present," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 1, 1977, pp 14-15; V. I. Kozlov, V. G. Shelepov, "National Character and the Problems of Its Study," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 2, 1973, p 82; I. S. Kon, "The Psychology of Prejudice," NOVYY MIR, No 3, 1966.
13. See "Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni i voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty" /The Socialist Way of Life and Questions of Ideological Work/, Moscow, 1977, pp 244-247; Yu. V. Arutyunyan, "Ethnosocial Aspects of the Internationalization of the Way of Life," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 2, 1979; M. S. Dzhunusov, "On Some National Peculiarities of the Way of Life Under the Conditions of Socialism," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1975; G. Ye. Markov, "The Soviet Way of Life and Problems of Ethnography," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 2, 1976, and others.
14. See "Kommunisticheskoye vospitaniye truzhenikov sela i voprosy povysheniya kul'tury sel'skogo byta" /The Communist Education of Workers of the Village and Problems of Increasing the Culture of the Rural Way of Life/, Moscow, 1975, pp 144-148; "Sotsialisticheskiy obraz zhizni i voprosy ideologicheskoy raboty," pp 244-247; "Proletarskiy internatsionalizm" /Proletarian Internationalism/, Moscow, 1979, pp 144-153, and others.

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CSO: 1806

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LEGISLATION ON MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY (AN ATTEMPT AT A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE LEGAL PROBLEM)

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 71-77

/Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences Yuriy Andreyevich Korolev, chief of the Publications Department of the USSR Supreme Soviet/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

THE STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION: QUESTIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 78-85

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Boris Konstantinovich Alekseyev, B. Z. Doktorov and B. M. Firsov/

/Text/ The complication of the management of social processes and the further development of socialist democracy at the stage of mature socialism are increasing the need of society for regularly received and reliable information on public opinion. The need for the comprehensive study of public opinion was noted in the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress and other party documents.¹ In implementing the decisions of the party, Soviet sociological science has in recent times made great progress in this direction. Nevertheless the problems of the convergence of sociological research with the practice of the building of communism and sociopolitical management, particularly the study of public opinion, has not yet been completely solved.

1. Sociological Research and Public Opinion. The consideration of public opinion presumes its identification, expression, use and formation. The first type of activity includes the stimulation of the statements of various groups of the population, labor collectives and all citizens on urgent questions of politics and economics, social relations, culture, labor and daily life, as well as the gathering of the appropriate information. The expression of public opinion is the extensive publicity of the judgments and opinions of citizens and collectives through the organs of state administration, the channels of mass information and so on. The use of public opinion means its enlistment for the realization of the functions of social management. The formation of public opinion is the cultivation of great consciousness and initiative in the population on the basis of systematic and complete information on events of domestic and international life, the furnishing of the workers with a clear understanding of the goals of social development.

The sociological study of public opinion is of a complex nature. Let us note that sociology lends new qualities to the activity connected with the identification of public opinion. With the observance of a number of methodological and procedural requirements sociological research ensures: the representativeness of the data, the regularity of their receipt in time; the promptness of processing and analysis; the comparability of the information on public opinion, which was obtained at a different time and by different methods; its great reliability, a broad range of coverage and thorough reflection of phenomena of social life; the dynamics of the states of public opinion; the possibility of forecasting the states themselves. On

the basis of scientific information on public opinion it is possible to enrich substantially the analysis of urgent problems of social development, the study of the structure and dynamics of the needs and interests of the population and the study of the effectiveness of ideological and political educational work.

Sociological research is becoming one of the most important sources of information on public opinion, without which the various levels of the mechanisms of the management of the development of our society cannot do. The extensive acquaintance of citizens with the results of surveys is a means of not only expressing public opinion, but also increasing the sociopolitical activeness of the workers. Mature public opinion promotes the recognition by the individual of his moral and civic responsibility for the state of affairs in the collective and in society as a whole.² By indicating the means of achieving such a level of public opinion, sociology thereby participates in its formation.

This description of the place and importance of sociological studies of public opinion is to a certain extent ideal. In reality the research itself is of primarily an exploratory nature. Many problems still have to be solved.

A number of basic theoretical and methodological works (by B. A. Grushin, V. A. Medvedev, R. A. Safarov, A. K. Uledov and others), which are devoted to the analysis of the nature and functions of public opinion in the life of socialist society, have appeared in the past 15 years. The interdisciplinary study of public opinion is developing rapidly, the geography of the research has been broadened--it is now being conducted in the majority of union republics. Let us name the largest studies: the all-union surveys of KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA (1960-1967), the sociolegal surveys of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1966-1974), the project "The Functioning of Public Opinion Under the Conditions of the City and the Activity of State and Public Institutions" of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1967-1974); the soundings of public opinion, which were made by scientists of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School attached to the Komsomol Central Committee in different regions of the country (1975-1979); the studies under the direction of the Council for the Study of Public Opinion attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia (1975-1979) and others.

The gained theoretical and practical experience is making it possible to launch studies of public opinion on a broad front. Unfortunately, the systematic gathering of the appropriate sociological information on not only the all-union, but also the regional level is not being carried out. One of the reasons for this situation is the lack of clear scientific notions about the relationship of public opinion to various aspects and elements of social reality.

The experience of a number of socialist countries, in which national centers for the study of public opinion, which rely in their activity on a network of professional interviewers, are in operation, should certainly be utilized when organizing studies of public opinion.

The main task of sociological research, it is stated in the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational

Work" (1979), should be seen in the detailed analysis of the spiritual life of society and in the elaboration of scientifically sound recommendations on the further improvement of political educational activity,⁴ which can also be fully applied to the study of public opinion. This presumes the study of the dynamics of public opinion, the new forms of its manifestation and peculiarities under the conditions of the more socialist society. Only on these conditions will sociological information be accessible to the broad masses of the population. The thesis advanced in the editorial of the journal KOMMUNIST: "... an important state task has been set for sociologists--the task of developing an efficient and result-producing /system of public surveys/ [in italics] on a countrywide scale, which would make it possible to such a degree of reliability and representativeness of their results, in case of which it could act as reliable support for the practice of party leadership and state administration,"⁴ is very timely.

In our opinion, this will require the extensive development of public opinion studies locally. Let us continue the examination begun on the pages of the journal of the experience of the sociological studies conducted in Leningrad in the past 10 years.⁵

2. The Increase of the Reliability of the Results of the Study of Public Opinion. Organs of administration, researchers and the population are interested in reliable information on public opinion.

The results of studies should be considered reliable only if they are based on an adequate model of the phenomenon being studied, if the procedures of gathering and processing the primary information are valid and are free of systematic and random errors and if the rules of the interpretation of the data are not violated. Reliability is both a quality of the system (in our case, the system of the gathering and analysis of data on public opinion) and a quality of the information being gathered.

The method of increasing the reliability, which we use, is based on two approaches. The first takes into account the logical and instrumental errors which arise during the study. The logical errors, as a rule, are a consequence of the imperfection of the model of the phenomenon being studied. The instrumental errors are the errors and interference which are inherent in the measuring procedures or in the methods of their use. The second approach is connected with the structure of the activity which is aimed at eliminating the errors. Three areas of this work are distinguished.

Standard activity consists in the elaboration of the theoretical diagrams and principles of the analysis of the quality of the methods and the results of the study. The activity on the descriptive level includes the description of the occurring types of errors and their classification, the organizational activity includes the development and use (with allowance made for recommendations of a standard and descriptive nature) of specific diagrams of the gathering and analysis of data. The proposed approach can be regarded as a model of all the activity on improving the procedures of gathering and processing the primary information and as a means of increasing the reliability of specific methods of studying public opinion.

The changeover to the regular study of public opinion requires the quickest possible solution of the questions of improving the descriptive and organizational activity. Soviet sociologists have elaborated many standard principles of the study of the methods and procedures of data gathering. However, due to the lack of experience in using some methods these principles have not been consolidated in everyday practice. Thus, whereas our researchers use extensively the distribution of questionnaires and surveys at the place of work, interviewing at the place of residence is much less prevalent, while in some instances this method is indispensable. Only most recently have Soviet sociologists begun to engage in earnest in the technique of mail surveys. The series of studies conducted in Leningrad showed that with the properly organized mailing of questionnaires and the combined use of stimulating influences a high rate of return (up to 75 percent) can be achieved. The low cost and the ease of organization make it possible to predict the intensive development of the method of mail surveying and its active use in the practice of studying public opinion. For the present it is difficult to speak of the limits and prospects of using the telephone interview method in mass public surveys. However, in conducting express surveys the creation of telephone panels is quite possible. One of the means of increasing the reliability of the results of telephone surveys is the comparison of the obtained information with the data of the direct interviewing of an additional number of respondents.

Many problems also arise in the construction of the sample, the designing of the questions and so on.

All this attests to the need to set up special scientific subdivisions (reliability services), the goal of which is to seek methodological approaches to increase the reliability of the information on public opinion, as well as to elaborate the appropriate procedural tools.

3. The Standard Approach to the Organization of Public Opinion Studies. The very great importance of the standard demands on the organization of public opinion studies results from several circumstances.

Since directive organs need information on public opinion (both rapid data and information for the adoption of long-term goal programs), the mechanism of conducting the studies is regulated quite rigidly by the plan of their work.

The experience of the public opinion studies conducted in Leningrad and the oblast make it possible to propose a number of standards for the creation of a sound system of regulatory indicators.

Six criteria are the basis for the proposed typology of public opinion studies: the goal of the study, the degree of novelty of the problem being studied, the completeness of the studies, the degree of diversity of the used methods of gathering primary information, the demands on reliability, the amount of primary information gathered.⁶ Depending on the specific content of the classification attributes and their combinations, four types of public opinion studies can be distinguished.

The first type is the in-depth study, which is aimed at the analysis of little studied problems and the elaboration of a set of practical recommendations and is characterized by a comprehensive, multilevel approach to processes and

phenomena. The most diverse methods of gathering and analyzing the information and means of increasing the reliability of the data are used when conducting such a study. The survey is made for quite large samples; the total amount of primary information is 10-11 million characters.

The second type is the regular study, which is conducted for a narrower spectrum of problems and is aimed at the concrete expression and extension of the available theoretical elaborations on the objective laws of the development and functioning of public opinion. They are limited to the examination of relatively understood social phenomena; the gathering of data is carried out by means of surveys and the analysis of documents. The sample does not exceed 3,000 units, the survey is conducted according to one method, the total amount of source information is up to 600,000 characters.

The studies of the third type (the sounding of public opinion) and the fourth type (express surveys) are close to each other. Their goal is the evaluation of specific states of public opinion. The soundings involve the study of individual segments of social phenomena, express surveys involve the study of specific characteristics of these phenomena and processes. The main means of gathering data are surveys (the distribution of questionnaires, interviewing); special techniques of increasing the reliability of the data are not being elaborated, but previously gained experience and approved methods are used. The size of the sample is up to 2,000 people; relatively short questionnaires are used; the total amount of primary information is up to 300,000 characters.

To complete the typology it is necessary to introduce another working attribute. It is a question of whether the given study is being conducted for the first time or is being carried out again, on the basis of previously developed programs, methods and an organizational and technical scheme. With allowance made for the latter dichotomy there are eight types of public opinion studies.

The main stages of the study of public opinion. The identification of the duration of the individual phases and their labor intensity depends on the solution of more general questions which concern the structure of sociological research. Several chronologically successive types of activity: preparatory and field activity, processing and analysis, are usually distinguished.⁷

A phase can be described as a set of stages which are distinguished by a set of goals and tasks, by coordination, as well as by several other features. The multi-aspectual and multilevel nature of the phases makes their unequivocal depiction through a set of successive stages practically impossible; the analysis of special literature convinces us of this.⁸

At each stage it is possible to distinguish smaller structural formations; let us call them operations. Let us propose a scheme which consists of nine stages. The first five cover the phase of the preparation of the studies, the sixth corresponds to the second phase, the last three stages belong to the concluding phase.

The first stage is the drawing up of an order for the study. Its goal is the preliminary discussion of the theoretical and applied tasks of the study; the specification of the nature and amount of information, which it is proposed to obtain;

the substantiation of the reliability, the periods of the conducting of the stages and individual operations of the study; the organization of the plan of the study; the identification of its organizational and technical features.

The second stage is the elaboration of the program of the study. The main function of the stage consists in developing the scientific apparatus.

The third stage is the drawing up of the field documents. The development of the working versions of the methods, the making of a test run, the approval of the survey documents and corresponding instructions and the preparation of the documents for printing constitute the content of the stage.

The fourth stage is the elaboration of the sample. Chronologically this stage is carried out at the same time as the third stage.

The fifth stage is the printing of the field documents.

The sixth stage is the gathering of the primary information. It includes a set of operations--from the preparation of the survey of the field documents to the receipt and checking of the arriving information.

The seventh stage is the processing of the information. Here it is possible to distinguish the group of preliminary operations (coding, punching, the feeding of the data into the computer and their checking) and of the operations of computer processing.

The eighth stage is the analysis of the results of the processing of the data; the making up of a dummy of the report on the study; the preparation of the texts of the express report, the intermediate and final report; the elaboration of recommendations.

The ninth stage is the storage of the materials of the study. In spite of the importance of this stage, in the literature its content is covered superficially and in practice unjustifiedly little attention is devoted to it. Meanwhile, with regular public opinion studies storage is a necessary unit of the study. It consists not only in the packaging and cataloging of the documents, but also the creation of a computer archive of the data, the careful keeping of a "chronicle" of the study, including the analysis of the organizational and technical activity.

The time indicators of public opinion studies are introduced as standard requirements.⁹ The indicators of the total duration generalize the positive experience of various studies. Its division into periods, which correspond to the individual stages, and the determination of the time of the implementation of the stages and operations are carried out so that they would fit into the time frame of the study.

The time indicators for eight types of studies of the public opinion of the population of a large city are cited in Table 1. For the in-depth study, which was conducted for the first time, the standards of duration are given in months; the periods of the conducting of the sounding surveys, which were conducted again, and of the express surveys are indicated in days; the duration of the stages for the other types are indicated in weeks.

Table 1

Duration of Public Opinion Studies*

Stages of Study	Type of Study							
	in-depth		regular		sounding		express survey	
	first follow-up	first follow-up	first follow-up	first follow-up	first follow-up	first follow-up	first follow-up	first follow-up
Total duration of study.	9 months	20 weeks	17 weeks	12 weeks	9 weeks	25 days	20 days	15 days
including:								
Drawing up of the order.	1	2	2	1	2	5	2	1
Elaboration of the program.	3	4	3	2	4	8		
Elaboration of survey documents. . .	1	3	3	1.5	1	5	10	6
Construction of the sample.	1	3	3	1.5	1	5		
Printing of field documents.	1	4	2	2	1	5	3	3
Gathering of primary information. .	1	4	2	2	0.5	1	1	1
Processing of information.	3	4	2	1.5	0.5	1	1	1
Analysis of the results of processing and preparation of the report.	3	6	6	4.5	2	9	7	6
Storage of materials.	0.8	2	2	1	1	3	3	3

* The total duration of the studies is considerably less than the sum of the duration of the individual stages. As a result, the individual stages are carried out simultaneously. For example, the drawing up of the order for the study (the first stage) is carried out at the same time as the elaboration of the program of the study (the second stage), the survey documents are developed and the sample is constructed at the same time as well.

The composition and size of the research collective are determined with allowance made for the peculiarities of the specific study: the complexity and degree of elaboration of the problem, the depth of its analysis, the specific nature of the used methods of gathering the data, the duration of the study.

The members of the research collective can be divided into three groups: scientific staff members with a degree, scientific staff members without a degree, scientific support personnel. In our practice the in-depth study according to the new program is prepared and conducted by 10 staff members (of them two have a degree, eight do not have a degree, including two technical personnel). In a follow-up study of this type eight sociologists (2--4--2) take part. A group of seven people (2--4--1) is formed for conducting a new regular study; a group of six (2--3--1) is formed for a

follow-up study. Soundings and express surveys are conducted by five staff members (2--2--1).

The labor intensity of public opinion studies. The proposed standards are based on the results of the analysis of publications, which are devoted to the organization of sociological research¹⁰ and the expert appraisal of the cited indicators, as well as on the generalization of the experience acquired in the public opinion studies in Leningrad (see Table 2).

Table 2

Labor Intensity of Various Types of Public Opinion Studies, in Man-Days

Stages of Study	Type of Study							
	in-depth		regular		sounding		express survey	
	first	follow-up	first	follow-up	first	follow-up	first	follow-up
Drawing up of the order.	50	20	20	10	20	10	4	2
Elaboration of the program.	440	110	150	50	70	24	12	8
Elaboration of survey documents.	140	75	70	27	13	11	30	17
Construction of the sample.	50	35	30	16	14	11	8	5
Printing of field documents.	30	30	15	15	10	10	6	6
Gathering of primary information.	180	140	40	40	15	6	3	3
Processing of information.	120	40	20	16	6	2	2	2
Analysis of the results of processing and preparation of the report.	440	160	180	135	40	34	35	30
Storage of materials.	50	35	20	20	6	6	6	6
Total.	1500	645	545	329	194	114	106	79

* The presented data cover the labor of the members of the main research collective and do not take into account the labor intensity of the operations performed by the staff members of auxiliary subdivisions (questionnaire distributors, interviewers, coders and so on).

4. The Further Development of Local Public Opinion Studies. The many years of experience of studying public opinion in Leningrad show that an indispensable condition of the successful conducting of studies and, what is the main thing, the practical use of their results is the supervision of sociologists on the part of local party organs. Public opinion studies receive the necessary direction, meaningful content and practical value only in the presence of a close connection of the scientific subdivisions with party committees, their concerned attention and constant support.

In our opinion, the following are the most important directions of the development of public opinion studies locally at the present time:

1. The elaboration of the theory, methodology and methods of public opinion studies. The main task of the scientific collective working in a region consists in the improvement of the theoretical bases of the research process for the purpose of increasing the level of reliability of the data, their analysis and interpretation. The further study of the very phenomenon of public opinion on the basis of the efforts of sociologists, lawyers, social psychologists and so on is necessary here.
2. The gathering of data on public opinion. The increase of the role of public opinion under the conditions of the mature socialist society predetermines not only the possibility, but also the necessity of a comprehensive study of public opinion and its connection with various aspects of social life. The search for subject-bearers of public opinion should ensure the receipt of data for the territorial community as a whole and for its individual segments, no matter how "nontraditional" they may seem as compared with the generally recognized, most frequently encountered criteria of the selection of respondents.
3. The processing of the data on public opinion. The numerous operations making up this function can be united into two groups: 1) the technically complex, labor-consuming types of activity on feeding the primary information into the computer. At times (for example, in the case of express surveys) the solution of these problems is of decisive importance for the success of the entire study; 2) the selection of adequate methods of processing empirical data, the development of the appropriate software.
4. The improvement of the data processing methods, the maximum utilization of the available hardware and the enlistment of new hardware.
5. The analysis of the results of the public opinion study. The framework of the article does not make it possible to examine all the aspects of such an analysis, let us note the two most promising ways of using analytic methods: 1) the comprehensive interpretation of the obtained information; 2) the development of the apparatus of the comparative study of the data on public opinion on the basis of the use of various methods of gathering primary information.
6. The storage of the data of public opinion studies. The main direction of the work here is the creation of a data bank, which is oriented toward the use of computers in a dialog mode. It is already clear at this time that without such a system the identification of the dynamics of public opinion and the solution of other problems of comparative analysis are in principle impossible.
7. The use of the results of public opinion studies. The consideration of the corresponding data in the activity of party organs and the organs of state administration is the most important condition of their efficient operation. The close coordination of the scientific collective and the directive organs, which provides for a well-defined structure of activity: the issuing of the "order" and the presentation of the results of the study; the technology of elaborating practical recommendations; the standards and methods of taking into account the data on public opinion in the work of one administrative organ or another; the procedure

of informing the population on the steps taken as a result of the study of public opinion and others, to all appearances is necessary.

8. The expression of public opinion. The population should be informed, by enlisting television, radio and the press, about the opinions, points of view and suggestions, which were reflected in the decisions which were made.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 73; "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy rabote. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 26 aprelya 1979 g." [On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 26 April 1979], Moscow, 1979, p 11.
2. See R. S. Safarov, "The Problems of Studying Public Opinion," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 1, 1977, p 37.
3. "O dal'neyshem uluchshenii ideologicheskoy, politiko-vospitatel'noy rabote," p 13.
4. KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1980, p 90.
5. See SOTSIOLOGICHEKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 4, 1979, pp 23-32.
6. Some of these approaches are close to the criteria proposed in the work "Lektsii po metodike konkretnykh sotsial'nykh issledovaniy" [Lectures on the Method of Specific Social Studies], edited by G. M. Andreyeva, Moscow, 1972.
7. A structure analogous to the one proposed by S. Mikhaylov is used here. The distinction consists in the introduction of the concept "phase" instead of "stage" and the distinction of three periods instead of four. See S. Mikhaylov, "Empiricheskoye sotsiologicheskoye issledovaniye" [The Empirical Sociological Study], Moscow, 1975.
8. See A. N. Balandin, "Some Questions of Technical and Economic Substantiation in Solving Specific Problems of the Coordination of Sociological Research," "Opyt sbora, obrabotki i analiza sotsial'noy informatsii i nekotoryye voprosy koordinatsii sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy" [The Experience of Gathering, Processing and Analyzing Social Information and Some Questions of the Coordination of Sociological Research], Moscow, 1975; A. G. Zdravomyslov, "Metodologiya i procedura sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy" [The Methodology and Procedure of Sociological Research], Moscow, 1969; V. A. Yadov, "Sotsiologicheskoye issledovaniye" [Sociological Research], Moscow, 1972.
9. The hypothetical time indicators of the study are determined by dividing the total amount of work by the average productivity per person who performs the individual operations. It is practically impossible to calculate the value of the dividend and the divisor.

10. In addition to the works named above see Yu. P. Voronov, "Metody sbora informatsii v sotsiologicheskom issledovanii" /Methods of Gathering Information in the Sociological Study/, Moscow, 1974; V. I. Molchanov, "Sotsial'naya informatsiya i upravleniye predpriyatiyem" /Social Information and the Management of an Enterprise/, Moscow, 1974; "Rabochaya kniga sotsiologa" /Workbook of the Sociologist/, Moscow, 1976.

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[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

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/Not translated by JPRS/

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/Not translated by JPRS/

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/Not translated by JPRS/

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Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 127-133

/Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Davydovich Shapiro, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

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Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 134-138

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Sergey Nikolayevich Zhelezko, acting chief of the Department of Sociological Research of the Institute of Economic Problems of the Complex Development of the National Economy of Moscow, and A. V. Podboletov]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

FACTS, COMMENTARIES, NOTES (FROM THE WORKTABLE OF THE SOCIOLOGIST)

LABOR DISCIPLINE OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 139-141

[Article by S. D. Reznik and Yu. I. Lipovskiy]

[Text] In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU, "On the Further Tightening Up of Labor Discipline and the Reduction of the Turnover of Personnel in the National Economy," it is noted that "the importance of each hour and each minute of working time, the strict observance of the regulations and the creation of stable staffs in each section of production is increasing with the increase of the scale of production, the complication of economic contacts and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress."¹

The All-Union Scientific Research and Planning Institute of Labor in Construction of the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs jointly with the Penza Institute of Construction Engineering conducted in 1978-1979 a comprehensive socio-economic study of the state of labor discipline at construction organizations² for the purpose of studying the peculiarities of the composition of violations, the causes, motives and nature of the violations and of elaborating practical recommendations.

First of all it is necessary to note that the violators of labor discipline have a low educational level: 24.9 percent of them have a level not higher than six grades of the secondary school. Among workers who did not violate discipline this indicator is only 14.6 percent. In all 20.4 percent of the violators graduated from the 10-year school, while among disciplined workers 36.6 percent did. The average educational level for violators is 7.7 grades, for disciplined construction workers

1. KOMMUNIST, No 2, 1980, p 7.

2. The study was conducted at eight construction trusts of Penzenskaya Oblast, which belong to the system of the USSR Ministry of Construction, the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work and the USSR Ministry of Rural Construction. The primary construction organizations were selected so that the indicators of their production operations and labor discipline would correspond to the average indicators of construction trusts. In all 424 personal record cards of the violators of labor discipline were filled out, more than 500 disciplined workers were covered by the questionnaire survey. The obtained data are representative with a confidence level of 0.96.

it is 8.3 grades. This is a quite significant difference. Let us also cite the following fact: among construction workers the proportion of graduates of vocational and technical schools and educational combines was 45 percent, while among the violators of labor discipline their proportion was only 24.8 percent. As a rule, undisciplined workers have a low level of skills. Their average wage category is equal to 2.78, and 30.5 percent of the violators had not increased it once. This makes it possible to draw the conclusion that the tightening up of labor discipline in construction is closely connected with the increase of the educational level and skills of the workers.

Two age groups with an appreciably greater proportion of undisciplined workers were established in the study (see the table). First of all they are young workers up to the age of 18. The reasons should be sought in the shortcomings of labor education at school and in the organization of the work of on-the-job tutors. The second age group, which includes a large number of undisciplined workers, is made up of people 40 to 50 years old. They constitute 20.9 percent of the violators of labor discipline, while among conscientious workers their proportion is equal to only 3.9 percent. This fact can hardly be explained unequivocally. In our opinion, it attests to the need to take into account the sociopsychological factors in the organization and management of construction and the laxity of the monitoring of labor discipline, and at times to the low demandingness of the administration of construction projects on the workers of this age group. Let us note that less than half of the respondents consider the work of the administration and the foremen on tightening up labor discipline to be active, while slightly more than a third consider the corresponding activity of the construction committees, the comrade courts and public personnel departments to be active. According to the data of the questionnaire survey, 11.6 percent of the violations of labor discipline are not recorded, and, consequently, those who committed them do not receive any punishment. In the opinion of the workers of personnel services, in reality this indicator is significantly higher.

Age Composition of Violators of Labor Discipline, Percent

Age group, years	Violators of labor discipline	Disciplined workers	Age group, years	Violators of labor discipline	Disciplined workers
Up to 18	5.0	1.9	31-40	23.6	22.9
19-20	7.1	16.1	41-50	20.9	3.9
21-25	19.0	26.5	51-60	1.7	1.5
26-30	22.2	26.9	Over 60	0.5	0.4

The length of service at the given enterprise is an important factor which influences labor discipline: the longer it is, the more disciplined, as a rule, the worker is. This results from the difficulty of adapting to the collective and to the new working conditions. Among undisciplined workers those having a length of continuous service at the given organization of less than two years make up nearly one-half, while among the violators of labor discipline 23.2 percent are workers with a length of service in excess of five years, that is, there are less than half as many.

As the results of the study show, workers who came to the construction projects from the ranks of the Soviet Army, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as well as from rural construction organizations, are least given to violations of labor discipline. In the first instance the habit of discipline, which was developed in the Army, the aspiration for active participation in public life and the desire to solve material problems evidently have an effect. The higher wage attracts those who came from rural areas for the first time, a certain lack of confidence in oneself under the strange urban conditions, in our opinion, is also of importance.

The family plays a positive role in the attitude of the worker toward labor. Among the violators of discipline there are 1.5-fold more single people (37.4 percent) than among conscientious workers (25.0 percent). A considerable portion of the single violators of labor discipline live in dormitories, where the educational work and leisure of young people are not organized well enough.

The organization of labor is the main production factor which determines the level of labor discipline. Owing to the specific conditions of construction it is more difficult here to establish a precise rhythm of labor and to organize the workplace. Among construction industry workers 62 percent directly link the violations of labor discipline with the inadequate level of the organization of labor, particularly the untimely supply of construction materials, components and machinery. After idle times the administration often is compelled to resort to overtime. A fourth of the respondents name overtime as one of the causes of the violation of labor discipline.

The problem of improving the everyday health conditions (food service, the supply of special work clothing, showers and so forth) is also not always solved successfully under the conditions of construction. Only 24 percent of the workers are satisfied with the corresponding conditions. In addition to the unevenness of production this adversely affects job satisfaction and accordingly labor discipline. Only 43 percent of those surveyed are satisfied with their job.

The degree of the real involvement of workers in the management of the production process has a substantial influence on the state of labor discipline. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the improvement of the economic mechanism aims at the utmost increase of the role of the primary labor collectives in the matters of the hiring and firing of workers, the awarding of wage categories to them, the stimulation of workers and the taking of disciplinary actions against them. In particular, such a fact as the nomination of a worker for an incentive without regard for the opinion of the members of the brigade (in 71.3 percent of the cases) attests to this. At the same time in cost accounting brigades, which work according to the brigade contract method (four such brigades were surveyed), the level of labor discipline is five- to sixfold higher than in ordinary brigades.

One of the most important factors of the tightening up of labor discipline is the skillful and timely use of various forms of stimulation of leading workers. As the questionnaire survey showed, the majority of workers consider verbal acknowledgement and acknowledgement in an order to be the most preferred type of moral incentive for a conscientious attitude toward labor. It turned out that in this respect not everything at construction organizations is well. Many respondents noted that the

acknowledgements are announced en masse and, as a rule, on the days before holidays. The specific services of the workers are not reflected in them.

Violations of labor discipline in construction do appreciable harm to the national economy. According to our rough estimates, as a result of the recorded unauthorized absences from work and dismissal for violations of labor discipline alone the state annually fails to receive for the sector as a whole 1.5-2.5 percent of the total amount of construction and installation work. That is why the problems of tightening up labor discipline should constantly be in the purview of "industrial sociology." This aspect of deviant behavior and everything that accompanies violations unquestionably need further and thorough study.

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CSO: 1806

STRUCTURE OF THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION OF THE CHECHENO-
INGUSHSKAYA ASSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 141-147

[Article by L. P. Verevkin and L. L. Lazina]

[Text] The changeover to the intensive path of the development of the economy involves the efficient use of manpower resources under the conditions of the complicated demographic situation being forecast for the 1980's.¹

Unlike the central and western regions of the country, Checheno-Ingushetia has a high natural growth of the population and considerable manpower reserves. The national-ethnic peculiarities of the way of life and the established traditions are responsible for the fact that the women living in the small cities and villages of the republic are engaged, as a rule, in housework and the private subsidiary sector, and the elaboration of practical recommendations on involving them in social production is required.

During the sociological study² the task was set to determine the main trends of change in the occupational and skills structure of the studied group of women who are employed in industrial production.

In the all-union indicators of the increase of the manpower being attracted to industry women have almost always made up more than one-half (excluding the postwar years, when demobilized men returned to work). The increase of the absolute number of working women and of their proportion among all industrial workers results from both the increasing level of the technical equipment of industrial production and socio-economic and demographic factors.

Until quite recently the industry of Checheno-Ingushetia was concentrated in Grozny, one of the largest industrial and cultural centers of the Northern Caucasus. More than a third of the total population of the republic lives in it. In recent years substantial changes have been noticed in the territorial distribution of industrial production, new industrial centers have been formed in the small and medium-sized cities of the republic. A number of industrial complexes appeared directly in rural areas, where there are considerable manpower reserves. Thus, the conditions were created for the extensive involvement in industry of women who were previously not employed in social production. The analysis of the change in the size and demographic structure of the rural population of the Checheno-Ingushskaya

ASSR gives grounds to assume that in the next few years it will be the main source of the reinforcement of the working class of the republic.

Technical progress has a decisive influence on the scale and nature of the use of female labor in industry. The complete mechanization and automation of production lead to the decrease of physical exertion and the creation of the optimum health conditions and thereby broadens the sphere of the application of female labor. In 1975 working women were employed mainly in light and the food sectors (36.5 percent), the machine building sector (20.9 percent) and the petroleum refining sector of industry (12.8 percent). The growth rate of the female contingent was especially intensive in such sectors as machine building, petroleum refining and others. At the same time in the traditionally "female" sectors the proportion of men increased as a result of the increase of the number of adjusters of automatic lines and machine tools with program control, electrical fitters, electricians and other repairmen. Thus, a decrease of the proportion of women among the workers of the chemical, textile and sewing industry took place with the simultaneous increase of the absolute number of working women engaged in skilled mechanized labor.

The study showed that there are substantial differences between the content of the labor of men and women (see the table). The proportion of working women engaged in the repair and adjustment of machines and machinery is negligible: there are nearly 13-fold more working men here. Even in the sectors with a high concentration of female labor the proportion of working women among repairmen is low. In the chemical industry among repairmen 10.5 percent are women, in machine building--4.8 percent, in light and the textile industries--4.2 percent and in the food industry--0.6 percent. This situation is explained by the fact that the repair and adjustment of machine tools, units and other equipment require in addition to a high skill considerable physical exertion, they are frequently carried out under adverse conditions and so on. The number of working women operating automatic equipment is also still negligible (1.8 percent of all the working women of industry). However, in recent years this indicator both for industry as a whole and in the majority of sectors has steadily increased.

Change of the Mechanization of Labor of Industrial Workers
(percent of total number of respondents of given sex)

Degree of mechanization of labor	Years	Women	Men	Average for surveyed population
Labor using machines and machinery, as well as on monitoring the operation of automatic machines and units	1965	41.8	49.0	45.9
	1975	46.2	48.4	47.2
Manual labor at machines and machinery	1965	8.7	5.0	6.6
	1975	10.9	5.4	8.3
Manual labor without using machines and machinery	1965	48.2	25.5	35.3
	1975	41.2	22.0	32.2
Manual skilled labor on repair and adjustment of machines and machinery	1965	1.3	20.5	12.2
	1975	1.7	24.2	12.3

The study showed that the increase of the number of working women employed in automated labor is taking place to a greater extent due to occupations of average skill (instrument controllers, machine operators), in which the proportion of women comes to 60-80 percent. At the same time among highly skilled adjusters women make up only 5-7 percent. The level of skills of working women not only with respect to individual types of the most massive occupations, but also for industry as a whole is lower than among men. Here it is important to note that along with such factors, which influence the level of skill, as general and specialized education, age and the length of service in a specialty the practice of using female personnel at enterprises and the consideration of the specific nature of female labor by the administration and public organizations are of great importance.

The materials of the study make it possible to draw the conclusion that men and women estimate differently the possibilities of their occupational growth on the job. Among the surveyed workers, who studied in courses for the improvement of skills, at schools of young workers, tekhnikums and higher educational institutions, about 80 percent see an opportunity for occupational growth and the improvement of skills at the given enterprise. Among women this indicator is only 53 percent. Favorable opportunities for the increase of the occupational skills level of women have not been created everywhere, an understatement of the categories of working women was noted at a number of studied enterprises of the petroleum refining industry. Thus, among working women who had graduated from tekhnikums only 8 percent had the highest category--the fifth--and 27 percent had the fourth category.³

The means of further increasing production efficiency in the republic are connected not only with the retooling of enterprises, the introduction of the complete mechanization and automation of production processes and the increase of the skills of manpower, but also with the attraction to industry of new manpower resources.

In our opinion, the solution of this problem is possible by the rational territorial distribution of industrial production in small cities and large rayon centers. This will make it possible to attract to industry the rural, and first of all the indigenous population, which in small cities and villages makes up from 60 to 85 percent of the population. Let us note that at present the indigenous nationalities are represented more in light and the food industries, construction, agriculture and services than in the sectors of heavy industry: metallurgy, machine building, the chemical and petroleum refining sectors.

Some researchers⁴ deny the possibility of the extensive attraction to industry of the nonworking indigenous population of the republics of the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia, giving as the reason for this such circumstances as the large number of children in families, low mobility, poor educational and vocational training. In our opinion, the assessment of the possibility of involving the women of the indigenous nationalities in social production should be different. Indeed, in Checheno-Ingushetia the level of the birth rate is the highest in the RSFSR: the average number of children in the families of Chechens and Ingush is five. However, the provision of the rural population of these republics with children's preschool institutions is five-sevenths as great as on the average for the USSR and five-ninths as great as for the urban population. This, of course, complicates the efficient use of female labor in industry. In order to involve working women of the indigenous nationalities in industrial production it is necessary to

increase the amounts of construction of kindergartens and nurseries, to raise the level of personal service and to enlarge the network of advice centers of the schools of young workers, tekhnikums and higher educational institutions.

The problem of the employment of the rural population of the Northern Caucasus is of great economic and social importance. Its solution will make it possible to provide the industrial projects of this region, which are under construction, with manpower and will create the conditions for the improvement of the social structure of the indigenous nationalities.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Increasing the Role of Scientific Research in Solving Social and Economic Problems," SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 3, 1980.
2. The study was conducted in 1976-1978 by the Sector of Sociology of the Checheno-Ingush Scientific Research Institute of History, Sociology and Philosophy. About 1,000 people in Groznyy, Argun, Gudermes and Nazran' were surveyed. It was a quota, regionalized and representative sample for the leading sectors of industry of the republic. Sectorial statistical reporting was also studied.
3. Similar data are cited in a number of works. See, for example, A. E. Kotlyar, S. Ya. Turchaninova, "Zanyatost' zhenshchin v proizvodstve" /The Employment of Women in Production/, Moscow, 1975, p 82.
4. See, for example, L. Sbytova, "Sources of Manpower," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 6, 1978, p 40; L. Kostin, "Management of the Manpower Resources of the Country," PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, No 12, 1978, p 19.

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CSO: 1806

EMOTIONAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS OF THE FUNCTIONING OF THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 144-148

[Article by Z. I. Faynburg]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

THE STUDY OF THE OPERATION OF CLUB INSTITUTIONS OF INDUSTRIAL CITIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 148-151

/Article by R. A. Zlotnikov/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

ON INCREASING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LAW IN COMBATTING PATRONAGE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 151-154

/Article by V. P. Kiselev/

/Text/ The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Educational Work," makes it incumbent to submit openly for discussion urgent problems of our social life and condemns the tendency to smooth over acute problems.

Among the latter, in particular, is patronage--undeserved preference, protection, which is based, as a rule, on the egotistic self-interest of both the patron (protector) and the protege (the protected person), in other words self-seeking mutual support, which is at variance with the legal interests and claims of other people. Patronage is a system of invisible privileges (more precisely, privileges not sanctioned by society and the state). Being one of the versions of imaginary collectivism, it is of an antisocial nature.

Under socialism patronage appears as a peculiar vestige of the past, which is closely connected with other negative phenomena--connivance, bureaucracy, careerism, nationalism and a consumer psychology. Of course, its manifestations evoke a sharply negative reaction of the Soviet public.¹

Depending on the sphere of dissemination, patronage is distinguished in personnel matters and in the area of the distribution of material and cultural wealth. Patronizing acts are also distinguished by motives. The sympathy of a relative or a friend, acquaintance and the liking of a person can act as a motive, that is, the personal relationship between the protector and the protege is the basis for patronage. At the same time patronage can be based on unadorned advantage, when one person is for the other a means of achieving a specific goal. For example, N. "gets" a scarce thing for M., and M. pays him with a similar service. Such patronage is in point of fact a bribe, graft, when both parties to it are simultaneously protectors and proteges. The preference which they give to each other is based on reciprocity and the equivalence of the services. Whereas in the former case the patronage is free of a direct egotistic advantage and, moreover, the protector may risk his official position and reputation, in the latter case it is always mercenary and subordinate to the principle "do ut des" (I give so that you would give me). However, objectively both versions are equal, since in both cases public interests and the legal rights of other people are violated.

Patronage is at variance with all the principles of socialism, first of all the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor." By holding a high post which does not correspond to his abilities, a person receives more than he deserves. Moreover, the correspondence between the labor and the reward is also disturbed because the acquisition of wealth under the conditions of the functioning of the system of unjustified privileges depends not only (and at times not so much) on the size of the wage, but on contacts. Thus, patronage prevents the use of money as the most important means of material stimulation. Consequently, in improving distribution it is not enough to establish a wage which is equal to the labor, it is necessary to create the conditions in case of which the monetary reward for labor would guarantee the receipt of a certain amount of material and cultural wealth.

The adverse consequences of patronage are diverse. There is no need to explain how harmful the unsound practice of recruiting personnel "by pulling strings" is: a person turns out not to be in his place, while if in addition he is an economic manager, his occupational or official incompatibility can effect the economic activity of the enterprise or institution.

One of the prevalent consequences of patronage is the decrease of the creative intellectual potential of society, when not the most worthy people get into higher educational institutions and then into the sphere of spiritual production. A person accustomed to relying on patronage gradually ceases to depend on his own efforts and loses the incentive for self-improvement. Those who do not have the opportunity or do not want to take advantage of outside assistance in achieving their goals, it turns out, renounce them in general, assuming that in itself the existence of patronage rules out equal opportunity and honest labor competition.

The harmful influence of patronage on the moral consciousness of people merits special attention. The rule "you for me, I for you" (and always at the expense of others) cultivates mercenary prudence, which is incompatible with communist morals, when people value each other only from the point of view of usefulness in arranging one's personal affairs.

Patronage acts as one of the manifestations of narrow-mindedness, as a mode of the existence and self-affirmation of the petty bourgeois. Having gained access to the distribution of some wealth or other, he transforms his official duties into services, for which it is necessary to pay with a service, and his position into a means of deriving personal gain. Patronage is not always the abuse of power, but is always the abuse of the opportunities which society grants a person along with the position. V. I. Lenin noted that "no far-reaching and mighty popular movement has managed without scum, without adventurers and swindlers, braggarts and loudmouths, who attach themselves to inexperienced innovators."²

The successful combatting of patronage is inconceivable without a knowledge of the causes and conditions giving rise to it. For example, patronage in personnel matters (the protection of poor workers) to a considerable extent stems from the objective difficulties of measuring the quantity and quality of labor and, hence, of identifying the incompetence of individual workers. However, even in those spheres in which the use of precise indicators of work efficiency is possible (physical production), the state of the norm setting of labor is not always

satisfactory. Thus, in industry nearly 3.5 million workers and 2 million engineers and employees work in practice without any norms. The norm setting of labor in agriculture, at service enterprises, as well as at scientific and other budget-carried institutions has been unsatisfactorily organized.³ The implementation of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality," particularly the increase of the collective material interest and responsibility of production and scientific research collectives, will unquestionably promote the elimination of the economic factors of patronage. It is possible to say that its fate depends on how completely and consistently we implement the main principle of socialism: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor," and on the increase of the responsibility of personnel, the orderliness of business contacts and the standards of management at all levels and in all units. The decisions of the November (1979) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the laws on the People's Control, the Supreme Court, the procuracy, the state board of arbitration and the bar, which were passed at the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (December 1979), define concretely the provisions of the USSR Constitution and actively promote the further strengthening of socialist legality, are aimed at this.

What has been said to a considerable extent also applies to the task of eradicating patronage in the sphere of the distribution of wealth. The process of distribution, especially of goods of increased demand, unfortunately, is often still implemented at the discretion of officials who are authorized by the state to do this. Of course, patronage in the sphere of distribution results first of all from the still inadequate development of some sectors of our economy, which for all its achievements cannot so far completely meet the increasing demand for some consumer goods (especially high quality goods) and the materials necessary in production. An important role in eradicating the existing deficiencies belongs to the improvement of planning. At the same time the overcoming of the negative phenomena of our life cannot be a simple result of economic development and the achievement of abundance. Effective measures which limit the possibilities of the spread of vestiges of the past are needed. In the matter of eliminating the manifestations of patronage the improvement of accounting and the monitoring of the distribution of assets should be the main measure of this type. The possibilities here are far from exhausted. It seems useful to us to enhance the role of labor collectives and trade union organizations in this area. They are already involved in the allocation of housing, private motor transport and travel authorizations to sanatoriums and holiday homes, but their functions could be broadened. Then those who truly deserve and especially need scarce goods would be able to obtain them. Such a practice of distributing material wealth would promote an increase of the authority of labor collectives, the importance of which is emphasized in the USSR Constitution (Article 8), and would be an additional stimulus of the increase of the production and social activity of people.

In the set of measures aimed against patronage, measures of a legislative order should apparently be stipulated, and it should be specified precisely, under what conditions patronage is a crime.⁵ The RSFSR Criminal Code contains Article 200 (on arbitrariness) and Article 170 (on the abuse of power and office). Patronage, it would seem, comes under them. However, so far there is still no unity in the interpretation of the term "an official." At the same time in these articles and

in the official comments on them it is emphasized that the causing of substantial harm to state or public interests or to the rights and interests of individual citizens, which are protected by law, is a necessary condition of conviction for the corresponding act. Substantial harm is understood as great material loss. The economic consequences of the practice of patronage have already been discussed above. But are not the essential material interests of society affected when, for example, extremely necessary materials are released to some organizations with extreme generosity, while others cannot obtain them? Moreover, patronage encroaches upon the purity and impartiality of social relations, which Soviet criminal law is called upon to protect first of all. When people "obtain" or "get" something in exchange for equivalent services, this is equivalent to mutual bribery and in essence differs in no way from bribery. But bribery, to be sure, is a criminal act, while patronage "product" or "service exchange" is not considered to be so, although the briber sacrifices his own money and things, it is sufficient to present to the patron in exchange for the desired benefit (a thing, a service) the benefit which he is entrusted to dispose of in accordance with his position. The conclusion is obvious: the gap in the legislation should be eliminated.

FOOTNOTES

1. The number of publications on this theme (there are about 100 of them in the archive of the author), which has increased in recent years, as well as the results of a survey (December 1979) of 300 students of Gor'kiy State University are confirmation of this: among other negative phenomena (the consumption of alcoholic beverages and others) patronage received the most categorical condemnation by them.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 36, p 193.
3. See PRAVDA, 7 April 1980.
4. On the order of the Gor'kiy City Committee of the party the rayon committees of the People's Control made in late 1979 a mass check of the observance of the regulations of Soviet trade at the industrial goods stores of the city. In all 117 stores were checked. Cases of the violation of the trade regulations were established at 34 of them. Goods of greater demand, which had been put away for "necessary" people, were found in the warehouses of stores. In the cities of Tbilisi, Batumi, Sukhumi and Kutaisi the People's Controllers found that rims and lenses for glasses at all 11 stores checked by them were in very short supply, but at the same time there were quite a large number of them in the warehouses. This is a case in which a shortage is being created deliberately (PRAVDA, 23 July 1978).
5. The concepts "patronage" and "patronizing" are absent in Soviet criminal legislation, although some articles of the criminal codes of the union republics stipulate crimes which can be connected with patronage.

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIALIST COMPETITION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 155-157

[Article by Budimir Gvidonovich Tukumtsev, director of the Sociological Research Laboratory of Kuybyshev State University]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

ON THE QUESTION OF DRAFTING SOCIOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 158-165

/Article by Candidate of Philonophical Sciences Ol'ga Mikhaylovna Maslova, junior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

TO THE AID OF THE PLANT SOCIOLOGIST

THE PROCESSING OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION ON A PROGRAMMED MICROCALCULATOR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 166-177

[Article by Grigoriy Petrovich Galant, engineer of the Ukrainian State Planning Institute of Electrical Equipment for Heavy Industry, and V. I. Paniotto]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF MODERN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

THE CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES AND ITS STATE REGULATION

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 178-186

/Article by Doctor of Sociology Juha Partanen, director of the Institute of Social Studies of Alcohol Problems (Helsinki, Finland)/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

CRITICISM OF BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

APPEARANCE AND ESSENCE OF 'MODERNIZATION' THEORY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 187-195

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Al'fred Anatol'yevich Onokhov, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Sosnovskiy, senior research associate of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

FROM THE HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT

THE BUCHAREST MONOGRAPHIC SCHOOL AND THE SOCIOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF DIMITRIE GUSTI

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 196-205

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Vladimir Ivanovich Staroverov, chief of a sector of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

RESULTS, PLANS, IDEAS

ON THE 80TH BIRTHDAY OF ACADEMICIAN F. V. KONSTANTINOV

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 206-207

[Article]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

DISCUSSION OF THE EDITORIAL OF THE JOURNAL 'KOMMUNIST'

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 208-209

[Article by L. R. Avdeyeva and V. A. Afanas'yev]

[Text] The editorial "Sociological Research: Results, Problems and Tasks," which was published in the journal KOMMUNIST (No 13, 1980), became the topic of extensive discussion of the scientific community of Moscow. The Presidium of the Board of the Soviet Sociological Association, the party meeting of the Institute of Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the expanded meeting of the Council and the Chair of the Methods of Social Research of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University, as well as the editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA unanimously approved of the conclusions and theses of the article, having noted at the same time that its publication during the national preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress is of fundamentally great importance for the mobilization of the Soviet people for active participation in the solution of urgent sociopolitical and national economic problems.

In the decree of the Presidium of the Soviet Sociological Association it is indicated that the article will unquestionably have a positive influence on the strengthening of the scientific relations of party committees with sociologists and the departments of the Soviet Sociological Association. The presidium instructed the local organs of the association to follow the theses of the article in everyday work and to take them into account when preparing the five-year plans of scientific research, organizing and propaganda activity.

The participants in the discussion of the article at the expanded meeting of the Council and the Chair of the Methods of Concrete Social Research of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University spoke about the political importance of the statement of the journal KOMMUNIST, which directed the attention of scientists to the further creative development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Attention was directed to the depth of the retrospective analysis made by the journal of the organization of sociological research in the country and to the important theoretical theses contained in the article concerning the subject of sociology, the processes of change of the social structure of Soviet society, the socialist way of life and the means of its improvement, social planning. The speakers emphasized the particular topical nature for the faculty of the task advanced by the journal to increase in every possible way the level of skills of sociological personnel and outlined a number of measures which are called upon to improve the quality of training of specialists.

In accordance with the results of the discussion of the article the Council of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University adopted a decision, by which it obliged the office of the dean to elaborate and submit for consideration of the Council of Moscow State University and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education measures on the implementation of the main theses of the editorial statement of the journal KOMMUNIST. The council recognized it to be necessary to create during the new 1980-1981 school year a department of sociological research in the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University.

The editorial board of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA also discussed the article "Sociological Research: Results, Problems and Tasks." The decision was made to completely approve of the conclusions and theses of the article, to consider it as the methodological basis of the work of the editorial board, which is aimed at the further enhancement of the role of the journal in the matter of consolidating the efforts of Soviet sociologists and disseminating the results of scientific research and methodological experience. With allowance made for the tasks advanced in the article, changes were made in the long-range plan of the main directions of the activity of the journal and in the themes of the most urgent publications, measures were elaborated, the implementation of which will make it possible to increase the political, scientific and literary level of the articles. It is planned to enlarge the group of authors for the purpose of the more complete reflection of any appreciable achievements of all the sociological centers of the country and the generalization of the results of theoretical and applied research in related fields of social science. Taking into account that the serious shortcomings in the area of the criticism of bourgeois sociology and in the study of sociological thought of the developing countries are indicated in the editorial of the journal KOMMUNIST, it was decided to elaborate additional measures on the improvement of this direction in the work of the journal.

To enhance the coordinating role of the journal it is planned to improve the coverage of scientific life on its pages, directing particular attention to the comprehensive and timely notification of the sociological community about the problems on which scientists are working, about the scientific and practical importance of the results obtained by them. The study of the article by the scientific editors of the journal will be organized within the framework of the vocational training of the workers of the staff of the journal.

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CSO: 1806

CONFERENCE OF EDITORS OF PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL JOURNALS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 p 209

/Article/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

FORMATION OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 210-212

[Article by V. K. Levashov, Yu. P. Ozhegov and L. P. Prokof'yev]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

COOPERATION OF SOCIOLOGISTS OF THE USSR AND THE FRG

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 212-215

/Article by V. G. Andreyenkov and Z. T. Golenkova/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

NEWS ITEMS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 215-216

/Article/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

BOOK REVIEWS

LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 217-219

[Review by F. V. Konstantinov of the book "Zakony obshchestvennogo razvitiya: ikh kharakter i ispol'zovaniye" (The Laws of Social Development: Their Nature and Use) by G. Ye. Glezerman. Moscow, Politizdat, 1979, 303 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

DIALECTICS OF NECESSITY AND CHANCE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 219-222

[Review by M. B. Mitin and V. G. Andreyenkov of the book "Dialektika neobkhodimosti i sluchaynosti" (The Dialectics of Necessity and Chance) by N. V. Pilipenko, Moscow, Mysl', 1980, 263 pages]

[Not translated by JPRS]

CSO: 1806

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 222-224

/Review by A. A. Zvorykin and Yu. N. Kozyrev of the book "Samoregulyatsiya i prognozirovaniye sotsial'nogo povedeniya lichnosti" (Self-Control and the Forecasting of the Social Behavior of the Individual), edited by V. A. Yadov, Leningrad, Nauka, 1979, 264 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

AWARENESS OF SOCIAL DUTY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 224-226

/Review by V. A. Popov of the book "Soznaniye obshchestvennogo dolga" (The Awareness of Social Duty) by I. Namadov, Baku, Azerneshr, 1979, 112 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

STUDY OF NATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE USSR

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 226-228

[Review by Ya. Z. Garipov and A. A. Susokolov of the book "Osnovnyye napravleniya izucheniya natsional'nykh otnosheniy v SSSR" (The Main Directions of the Study of National Relations in the USSR), M. I. Kulichenko, editor in chief, Moscow, Nauka, 1979, 319 pages]

[Text] One of the trends of sociology, ethnosociology, which studies the interrelation of ethnic and social characteristics of the development of society, was formed during the comprehensive study of the national problem. The gained experience of the theoretical and concrete sociological study of national relations in the USSR needs generalization and retrospective analysis. The book under review, which covered the most important aspects of the study of national relations in the USSR, in many ways solves this difficult problem. Considerable attention in it is devoted to the examination of the literature devoted to theoretical problems of national relations: the formation of the new historical community--the Soviet people, questions of international education and the building of the national state, the problems of the economic development of the socialist nations, the interrelationship of national relations and sociolinguistic processes. The in-depth analysis of publications, which is undertaken by the authors of the book, gives a theoretical and methodological orientation to ethnosociological research. The conclusions about the main criteria of the distinction of the stages of the formation of the new historical community, for example, are of great interest (pp 52-53). By relying on these conclusions, the researcher obtains an opportunity to interpret more thoroughly and scientifically soundly the results of the study of the above-mentioned processes.

Let us turn to the sections of the book, which are devoted to concrete ethnosociological research.

In examining the main stages and directions of the study of national relations in the USSR, Academician Yu. V. Bromley shows that the problems, which arose within the different approaches to the study of national relations, were dictated by certain tasks or others of the management of this sphere of social activity. The interest in ethnosociology is also connected with the needs of practice. Its development signifies a new stage in the study of national relations, and the results of the research are of substantial importance on not only the cognitive, but also the applied level and are reflected in practical recommendations. The author especially

emphasizes that the most promising means of further progress in the study of national relations is the cooperation of specialists who represent different scientific disciplines.

The problem of the comprehensive examination of the scientific direction can be successfully solved by the most complete analysis as possible of the works on this theme with the in-depth interpretation of the results of the study in them of the main problems. The section "The Concrete Sociological Study of Nations and National Relations," which was prepared by L. N. Drobizheva, to a considerable extent meets this requirement. The development of domestic ethnosociology is traced here in the materials of the largest studies which were conducted in the mid-1960's. Two strategic lines of ethnosociological research--the study of social processes in different ethnic surroundings and of ethnocultural processes in their social diversity--are quite correctly distinguished. It is very important that the author of the section not only indicated the most significant directions of the scientific research, but also generalized the results of the study of the convergence of the social composition of ethnic communities, the peculiarities of the social mobility of the representatives of one national or another and the influence of these factors on ethnocultural processes and international relations on the personal level.

Ethnosociological research has made it possible to approach in greater detail the solution of such an important practical question as the sociocultural conditionality of the territorial migrations of different nationalities. The generalization of the results of the research enabled Drobizheva to formulate a number of urgent scientific problems, the successful study of which requires the further improvement of the methodological tools. Thus, the task of identifying the structure of ethnic self-consciousness and elaborating a system of its empirical indicators is set. Indeed, the section, in our opinion, would have profited substantially if the connection of the ethnosociological research launched in the 1960's with the research of the 1920's and 1930's had been traced in it.

In practically all ethnosociological studies a conspicuous place is assigned to the analysis of linguistic aspects of national relations and to the development of the functions of the languages of the peoples of the USSR, including Russian as the language of international intercourse. The critical survey of Soviet literature, which was made by M. N. Guboglo in the chapter "Historiographic Problems of Bilingualism," will unquestionably promote the further stepping up of the study of this problem and will help to coordinate the efforts of the specialists working on the material of various regions. The main attention in the section is devoted to the ethnosociological aspect of the study of bilingualism and at the same time a broad panorama of the theoretical and methodological approaches to the solution of the scientific problem and the practical tasks arising here is given. At the same time the author outlined the prospect of the relations of this trend of ethnosociology with sociolinguistics, ethnography and so on. The results of ethnosociological research make it possible to solve many practical problems of the planning of the linguistic life of the Soviet people. In listing the factors of the spread of bilingualism (general educational schools, mixed ethnic surroundings, the operation of the mass media and so on), Guboglo indicates the dominant role of the school in the development of bilingualism. Such an assertion seems debatable. Although the school unquestionably has a considerable influence on the mentioned process, still the mixed ethnic surroundings, particularly the proportion of the Russian

population living in the national regions, are the decisive factor. The school, while acting to a certain extent as an independent factor, should be regarded rather as one of the elements of the environment of ethnic contact.

The sociological studies of international marriages, which have been rapidly developed in recent years, often are little known to a wide range of sociologists, which hinders the theoretical interpretation and the increase of the professional level of scientific developments. The study of L. N. Terent'yeva and M. Ya. Ustinova to a considerable extent fills this gap. However, having limited their task only to a detailed list of the most important studies and their results, the authors were not fully able to establish the main theoretical principles which connect (or should connect) the studies of international marriages in different regions. It is possible to group with such problems, for example, the interrelationship of the ethnic and social heterogeneity of marriages, the influence of the national composition of mixed ethnic marriages on the interethnic transmission of culture and on the development of ethnic self-consciousness.

Substantial methodological shortcomings in the study of national relations appeared both in the content of the individual sections and in the overall structure of the book. First of all we have in mind a definite gap between the theoretical analysis and practice. Thus, in the theoretical sections the connection of the questions discussed in them with the results of specific studies is in fact not traced.

While noting the unquestionable topicality and the high scientific level of the work, it is impossible not to make some remarks on its structure. Although in the foreword the book is described as a monograph, it is rather an anthology. Given the detailed analysis of some special problems, such important directions of ethno-sociological research as the development of the social structure of nations and the role of the family in ethnic development are examined quite cursorily. The connection between the sections devoted to related themes (for example, economics and ethnosociology) is not always clearly traced.

The first work from the series of monographs "National Relations During the Present Age," which is being readied for publication by the Scientific Council on National Problems attached to the Section of Social Sciences of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, makes it possible to identify the bottlenecks and yet unsolved problems, to direct the efforts of specialists toward the further study of the most urgent themes, to determine the need for the interdisciplinary efforts of scientists and to a certain extent to coordinate their joint studies of the national and international processes of the development of Soviet society.

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CSO: 1806

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE MIRROR OF SOCIOLOGY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 228-230

/Review by N. V. Moskovchenko of the book "Molodezh' v zerkale sotsiologii" (Young People in the Mirror of Sociology) by G. Mints and I. Chechetina, Riga, Liyesma, 1980, 237 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

PROBLEMS AND METHODS OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 230-232

/Review by F. E. Sheregi of the book "Csaladszociologiai problemak es moddszerek"
by L. Cseh-Szombathy, Budapest, 1979, 403 pages/

/Not translated by JPRS/

CSO: 1806

SCIENTIFIC UNTENABILITY OF ZIONIST SOCIAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 1, 1981 pp 232-233

/Review by V. V. Kolbanovskiy of the book "Nauchnaya nesostoyatel'nost' teoretiko-metodologicheskikh osnov sotsial'nykh i sotsiologicheskikh kontseptsiy sionizma" (The Scientific Untenability of the Theoretical and Methodological Bases of the Social and Sociological Concepts of Zionism) by G. V. Osipov and G. Ya. Dadiani, Moscow, Nauka, 1979, 57 pages/

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